

# The Canadian Historical Review

NEW SERIES

OF

THE REVIEW OF HISTORICAL PUBLICATIONS  
RELATING TO CANADA

(FOUNDED 1896)

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## THE REVIEW OF HISTORICAL PUBLICATIONS RELATING TO CANADA

(FOUNDED AT THE UNIVERSITY OF TORONTO IN 1896)

VOL. XII

TORONTO, MARCH, 1931

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# The Canadian Historical Review

VOL. XII.

TORONTO, MARCH 1931

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## NOTES AND COMMENTS

THE REVIEW has taken the opportunity several times in recent months of referring editorially to the importance of archival collections and the difficulty of arousing an intelligent and widespread appreciation of their value. It is with pleasure, therefore, that we include in this issue an account of the opening at Halifax of the fine new archives building which has been presented to the province of Nova Scotia. The province is to be congratulated in thus providing an example to the rest of the Dominion, and we believe that there is already evidence that the new archives will be a source of pride and inspiration not only to students of history in the Maritime Provinces but to the people at large. This is as it should be, and we would be only too glad to be persuaded that it is a sign of the times. There is no need to prove to the dry-as-dust research worker that archival collections are important to him, but there is the greatest need of arousing a widespread appreciation of the importance of preserving historical materials for the community whether it be the nation, the province, or even the municipality. The general condition with regard to state and provincial archives in the United States and Canada is lamentable in the extreme. In many cases not even a beginning has been made; there has often been wanton destruction of irreplaceable records; and even where something has been done the work has frequently been frustrated by indifference. It is only too easy for legislatures to pass by the claims of archives when individual constituencies and many other interests are clamouring for consideration from the public chest. We cannot but think, however, that something might be done to improve the present situation. The growth of popular interest in history, so long as it be presented in a not too serious manner, has been a striking development of recent years. So far that interest has

been largely capitalized, as well as stimulated, by purveyors and self-styled preservers of the romance of history, while the more scholarly writers, on whose work real progress in the study of the subject ultimately depends, have to a great extent let their claims to consideration in the public mind go by default. We believe that serious students, if they disregard or underestimate the importance of the popular interest in history, will do so at their peril. Archives may be made one of the most important links between that popular interest and the world of historical scholarship. Undoubtedly the prime purpose of archives is to provide repository for documents, but the idea is far too prevalent even among well-informed people, that archives are merely collections of musty records interesting only to burrowers after minute bits of useless information. An admirable contradiction of this mistaken notion is the Public Archives at Ottawa which annually attract hundreds of visitors. The collection in Halifax, situated as it is beside an important university, may well become a centre of interest and pride to the people of Nova Scotia. If it achieves this object, its quiet influence over a period of years will more than repay the investment of thought and money which is put into it.

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It has been decided to hold the meeting of the Canadian Historical Association for 1931 on May 25 and 26 at the Public Archives, Ottawa. The committee in charge has decided to devote special sessions to three topics of importance for which three papers will be prepared by request. Other papers will also be read and any who would like to present such, or to receive further information, are requested to communicate with Mr. Gustav Lanctôt at the Archives. It is probable that the meeting for 1932 will be held in Vancouver.

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We are pleased to note that Dr. James F. Kenney of the staff of the Public Archives at Ottawa has been honoured by being appointed as first vice-president of the American Catholic Historical Association. The Association, which was formed in 1919, has held most of its meetings concurrently with those of the American Historical Association, and has been instrumental in publishing a number of articles of interest to students of Canadian history.

The second International Congress of the History of Science and Technology will be held in London, England, from June 29 to July 3, 1931, with the Science Museum, South Kensington, as its headquarters. The congress originated with the *Comité International d'Histoire des Sciences* which was founded at Oslo on August 17, 1928. This body meets annually in Paris and organizes every three years a congress in which persons interested in the history of science and technology are invited to take part. For the coming congress the *comité* has been fortunate in enlisting the co-operation of its parent body together with that of two other international societies, the History of Science Society, Washington, D.C., and the Newcomen Society for the Study of the History of Engineering and Technology, London. In addition to the presentation of papers, the programme will include visits to many points of interest. Further particulars can be obtained from the honorary secretary of the congress, H. W. Dickinson, The Science Museum, South Kensington, London, S.W. 7.

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The article in this issue on the periodical literature of Upper Canada has been written by Mr. W. S. Wallace, librarian of the University of Toronto and formerly managing editor of this REVIEW. Mr. Wallace's article is a very valuable contribution to an important subject on which little has hitherto been done. Professor M. H. Long of the University of Alberta has contributed the paper on the beginnings of the Canadian high commissionership in London. His account contains new material of considerable interest from manuscript sources which have been little used. We are indebted to Professor Paul Knaplund of the University of Wisconsin for *Some letters of Peel and Stanley on Canadian problems*. Professor Knaplund has contributed to the REVIEW before this and his name is well known to our readers. The review articles have been prepared by Professor A. R. M. Lower of Wesley College, Winnipeg, and by Dr. H. P. Biggar, representative in London, England, of the Public Archives of Canada.

## THE PERIODICAL LITERATURE OF UPPER CANADA

THE following notes are the by-product of a larger undertaking. Some time ago the staff of the University of Toronto library embarked on the project of compiling a catalogue of books and pamphlets printed in Ontario, similar to that invaluable *Inventaire chronologique des livres publiées dans la province de Québec* published a quarter of a century ago by the librarian of the Legislative Library of Quebec. As the work progressed, it became clear that a preliminary investigation was necessary. The fact emerged that, while in England the newspaper was the offspring of the book and the pamphlet, in Upper Canada, at least, the book and the pamphlet were the offspring of the newspaper. Before the union of 1841, there was published in Upper Canada virtually nothing which did not emanate from a newspaper printing-press. It became, therefore, a matter of importance to discover where and when newspaper printing-presses were in operation during this period; and the only way of ascertaining this was to make a census or inventory of the newspapers and other periodicals published in Upper Canada before 1841.

The check-list printed below does not lay claim to finality or completeness; but the information embodied in it has not been obtained without dust and sweat. Much of what is in print in regard to the periodicals of Upper Canada is based on hearsay or guesswork, and is deplorably unreliable and defective. To make an inventory of these periodicals obviously involved recourse to the periodicals themselves; and here one encountered the serious difficulty that in not a few cases they seemed to have completely disappeared. In other cases, only one or two copies had survived, or at best a broken file. Only in two or three cases was a reasonably complete file in existence. The copies available were, moreover, scattered widely in different libraries and archives collections, or else were in private hands. The present writer has travelled hundreds of miles for the purpose of getting sight of some of these vestiges of the past, and even so there are many of the newspapers in the subjoined list of which he has not yet seen—and perhaps no one will ever see—one copy.

The value of these periodicals to the historian has not always been appreciated. They contain virtually the only accounts of the debates in parliament published prior to the establishment

of the Canadian *Hansard* in 1872; they are almost the sole source of information with regard to the criminal trials of an earlier day; the advertisements and market news contained in them provide the economic historian with data to be found nowhere else; the notices of deaths, births, and marriages are essential to the biographer and the genealogist, unless he is prepared to search tomb-stones; and the bibliographer must rely on them, not only for notices of publications otherwise unknown, but also for an understanding of the general background of his work. Old newspapers yield place neither to books nor to manuscript materials as a source of information regarding the past.

The first printing-press in Upper Canada was that set up in Niagara in the spring of 1793 by Louis Roy,<sup>1</sup> a French-Canadian printer borrowed by Simcoe from the printing-office of Samuel Neilson at Quebec. His printing-press and types were brought by him from Quebec or Montreal; and we know from a letter of Mrs. Jarvis, the wife of the secretary of the province, that he had begun printing by the middle of January, 1793, several months before the appearance of the first number of the *Upper Canada Gazette* on April 18, 1793. For five or six years this was the only press in the province. Then, in 1798, the *Upper Canada Gazette* was removed to York (Toronto). Whether the old press was transported from Niagara, or a new press was set up in York, is not certain. But in 1799 Gideon and Silvester Tiffany began the publication in Niagara of the *Canada Constellation*, and in 1801 Silvester Tiffany founded the first *Niagara Herald*. An examination of the typography of these papers suggests that the

<sup>1</sup>Very little is known about Louis Roy. In the notice of the death of his brother, Charles Roi (or Roy), which appeared in the Quebec *Castor* on December 5, 1844, it is said that he was the son of a French soldier who married in Canada, that he was first employed in the printing-shop of the *Quebec Gazette*, that he established the *Gazette de Montréal*, and that he "died in New York." He appears to have left Upper Canada in the autumn of 1794; and we know that he founded the *Gazette de Montréal* on August 17, 1796, and published it until August 17, 1797. Then he disappears from view. There is no trace of him in New York. His name does not appear in the index of editors and printers in the Library of Congress newspaper list of the eighteenth century; nor is his name listed on the printer's slips in the rare books section of the New York Public Library. He is not to be found in the New York directories at the end of the eighteenth or the beginning of the nineteenth century. The only possible clue is the fact that in the New York directory of 1800 there appears, for the first time, a widow Roy, who had a dry-goods store at 88 Chatham Street. Does this mean that Louis Roy died in New York before 1800? It is possible, but one would feel surer of the identification if the name "Roy" were not Scottish, as well as French.

Tiffanys used the worn-out types of the *Upper Canada Gazette*. In any case, there were in 1799 two printing-presses in the province, one at York, and the other at Niagara. In 1802, however, Silvester Tiffany ceased to publish the *Niagara Herald*; and for five years the only press in operation in the province was that in York. Then, in 1807, Joseph Willcocks,<sup>1</sup> the first journalist-politician in the history of the province, went to New York and purchased the press on which was printed the *Upper Canada Guardian*. Five years later, when the types were worn out, he sold the press to Richard Hatt, and purchased a new outfit in the United States, on which, for a short time in 1812, it is said that he printed the *Telegraph*. The press he sold to Hatt was probably used for the printing, in the latter part of 1812, of the *Bee* at Niagara. Meanwhile, in 1810, a young printer named Stephen Miles<sup>2</sup> had established the *Kingston Gazette*, on types brought from Montreal.

During the latter half of 1812, there were thus four presses in operation, two at Niagara, one at York, and one at Kingston. But three of these, those at Niagara and York, were put out of commission during the first year of the war with the United States, and from 1813 to 1815 there was only one press in operation in Upper Canada, that of Stephen Miles at Kingston. In 1815, the *York Gazette* resumed publication; and in 1816 the Niagara district had once more a newspaper, the St. David's *Spectator*, edited by an interesting, if somewhat obscure, journalist named Richard Cockrel.<sup>3</sup> In 1817 Niagara itself saw the launching of

<sup>1</sup>For an account of the life of Joseph Willcocks, see A. H. U. Colquhoun, *The career of Joseph Willcocks* (CANADIAN HISTORICAL REVIEW, 1926, 287-93), and the Hon. Mr. Justice Riddell, *Joseph Willcocks* (Ontario Historical Society, *Papers and records*, 1927, XXIV, 475-99).

<sup>2</sup>An account of the life of Stephen Miles will be found in W. Canniff, *History of the settlement of Upper Canada* (Toronto, 1869), 352-5; and a description of his personal appearance in J. Carroll, *Case and his contemporaries* (5 vols., Toronto, 1867-77).

<sup>3</sup>Richard Cockrel is described by Col. John Clark in his *Memoirs* (Ontario Historical Society, XII, 168) as "an Englishman, from the United States." In 1796 Cockrel had a school in Niagara, which Clark attended as a pupil. "When we came to the British side of the river in 1796," he writes, "I went to various schools. The best among them was that of Rich'd Cockerell." At the end of 1796, as appears from advertisements in the *Upper Canada Gazette*, he resigned the charge of this school to the Rev. Mr. Arthur; and then, or later, he founded a school at Ancaster. His reputation as a teacher was excellent. Edward Allen Talbot wrote in his *Five years' residence in the Canadas* (London, 1824): "For many years there were only two schools of any note in the province: The one at Kingston [sic], conducted by the Honourable and Rev. Dr. Strachan, a Scotchman of great abilities; and the other at Niagara, under the direction of Mr. R. Cockrel, an

two newspapers, the Niagara *Spectator*, published at first by Amos McKenney, and afterwards by Pawling and Ferguson,<sup>1</sup> and the

Englishman, who is accounted a good mathematician." Strachan himself, in a paper on the history of education in Upper Canada, published in the *Christian Recorder* of April, 1819, bore witness to Cockrel's reputation. "An excellent mathematical school", he wrote, "was opened at Niagara by Richard Cockrel, Esq., who is said to be well versed in mathematical science." In 1796-7 Cockrel was grand secretary of the Grand Lodge of Freemasonry in Upper Canada, which met at Niagara; but in 1797 an acting grand secretary was appointed, and it may be assumed that in that year Cockrel removed to Ancaster. In 1804 he appears as a subaltern in the Second York Regiment of militia, recruited at the head of Lake Ontario; and it must have been about this time that he was the tutor of the younger Brant (Wentworth Historical Society, *Journal and transactions*, IV, 23). In 1805 his name appears in a list of licensed land-surveyors (H. Scadding, *Toronto of old*, Toronto, 1878, 423); and in 1806 he had a school at "Burlington, at the head of the lake", as in that year W. H. Merritt was sent to attend his school (J. P. Merritt, *Biography of the Hon. W. H. Merritt, M.P.*, St. Catharines, 1875, 8). Soon after this Cockrel moved his school back to Niagara, whither Merritt followed him. Then the curtain falls, and for ten years Cockrel disappears from view. His name is not to be found in any of the lists of militia officers engaged in the War of 1812; and it is only after the close of the war that he reappears. In 1816 he was a second time elected grand secretary of the Grand Lodge of Freemasons; and it was in 1816 that he became the editor of the St. David's *Spectator*. In 1817, as appears from the journals of the house of assembly, he got into trouble with the house for publishing an election address of James Durand, the former editor of the *Bee*. Durand was expelled from the legislature, and Cockrel was ordered to appear at the bar of the house. In 1818 the *Spectator* ceased publication; and Cockrel went to Dundas to establish there the *Upper Canada Phoenix*, the first newspaper printed in Upper Canada west of York. How long the *Phoenix* continued publication is not certain; but it died probably at the end of 1819, and then Richard Cockrel's journalistic career came to an end. What he did for the rest of his life, I cannot ascertain. Colonel Clark says that he "left the country during the Rebellion." If by this the Rebellion of 1837 is meant, the statement is incorrect, for Cockrel died at Ancaster on July 7, 1829, aged fifty-six years, as appears from a death notice in the *Quebec Gazette*, for which I am indebted to the kindness of Mr. Ægidius Fauteux, the librarian of the Sulpician Library in Montreal. Is it possible that Richard Cockrel left Canada during the War of 1812, and that Colonel Clark had this in mind? In any case, the fact of his death having occurred before 1837 is confirmed by the notice of the death of his widow near Ancaster in 1836 (*Ancaster parish records*, in Ontario Historical Society, *Papers and records*, V, 163). It is probable that he had a son who was a school teacher, for there is a reference in W. H. Merritt's *Biography* (St. Catharines, 1875) to a "Mr. Cockeral" who taught some of the Merritt children. There is a veil of uncertainty resting even over his religion: in a list of grammar school teachers contained in the report of a select committee presented to the legislative council on February 19, 1830, the committee, ignorant apparently of the fact that Richard Cockrel was dead, report that he is "believed to be a Presbyterian."

<sup>1</sup>This was Bartimus Ferguson, the publisher of those "false, malicious, and seditious libels" against the government and legislature of Upper Canada for which Robert Gourlay was convicted in 1819, and which brought about the imprisonment of Ferguson himself. In reality, Ferguson was twice arrested and imprisoned. On the first occa-

*Gleaner*, founded by Andrew Heron. In 1818 Richard Cockrel founded at Dundas the first newspaper printed west of York, the *Upper Canada Phoenix*, on a press newly imported from the United States. In 1819 a second newspaper was established in Kingston, the *Upper Canada Herald*, owned by Hugh C. Thomson;<sup>1</sup> and in 1820 there appeared the first newspaper east of Kingston, the *Brockville Recorder*. Between 1820 and 1825, moreover, there entered the field in York no less than three opposition newspapers, John Carey's *Observer* (1820), William Lyon Mackenzie's *Colonial Advocate* (1824), and Francis Collins's *Canadian Freeman* (1825). In the years that followed, newspaper presses multiplied with astonishing rapidity. There was one at St. Catharines in 1826, at Ancaster in 1827, at Perth in 1828, at Hamilton in 1829, at Prescott and at Hallowell (Picton) in 1830, at Belleville, at Cobourg, at Port Hope, at London, at St. Thomas, and at Sandwich in 1831, and at Cornwall in 1832.

An interesting feature of this period was the sort of literary renaissance to which it gave rise. Not only did the weekly newspapers give space to local efforts at literary composition, but a striking number of periodicals purely literary in character was established. In 1823 J. M. Cawdell<sup>2</sup> had published in York a short-lived periodical named the *Rosesharp*, largely filled with his own literary effusions; but between 1831 and 1833 there appeared

sion, which occurred after the publication on December 3, 1817, of some doggerel by Gourlay headed, "Gagged, gagged, by Jingo", the prosecution was dropped, and Ferguson was released. The second occasion was after the publication on June 28, 1818, of a letter from Gourlay, who was now in jail. On August 19, Ferguson was found guilty of this second libel, was committed to prison, and on November 8 was sentenced to pay a fine of £50, to suffer imprisonment for eighteen months, to stand for four hours a day during the first month in the public pillory, and to remain in prison until the fine was paid and security given. On Ferguson's making a humble submission, part of this savage sentence, including the pillory, was remitted; and the duration of his imprisonment did not exceed seven months. (For fuller details in regard to this trial, see *Robert (Fleming) Gourlay*, by W. R. Riddell, in Ontario Historical Society, *Papers and records*, XIV.) In 1828 Ferguson was one of the projectors of the second *Niagara Herald*; and in 1829 he founded the *Gore Balance*, the first newspaper published in Hamilton. He died in the hospital at York in 1832, aged forty years.

<sup>1</sup>Hugh Christopher Thomson was born in Scotland about 1791. He came to Upper Canada after the close of the War of 1812, and in 1818 he appears as a member of the lodge of Freemasons in Kingston (J. Ross Robertson, *History of freemasonry*, I, p. 595). In 1819 he founded the *Upper Canada Herald* in Kingston, and he continued to publish this until his death in Kingston on April 23, 1834, at the age of forty-three. From 1824 to 1834 he represented Frontenac in the house of assembly of Upper Canada.

<sup>2</sup>For a sketch of Cawdell's life, see W. S. Wallace, *Dictionary of Canadian biography* (Toronto, 1926), 74.

in Hamilton three literary fortnightly publications, the *Canadian Casket*, the *Voyager*, and the *Garland*, and in Niagara the *Literary Miscellany*. In 1833, moreover, there appeared in York no less than two Canadian literary magazines, the *Canadian Magazine* published by Robert Stanton,<sup>1</sup> and edited by Captain William Sibbald,<sup>2</sup> and the *Canadian Literary Magazine*, published by George Gurnett,<sup>3</sup> printed by Thomas Dalton,<sup>4</sup> and edited by John Kent.<sup>5</sup> An aftermath of this movement was the publication by Stephen Randal<sup>6</sup> at Hallowell (Picton) in 1837 of *Randal's Magazine*—a periodical of which, apparently, no copies survive.

By 1836 there were in Upper Canada no fewer than thirty-eight newspapers, published in twenty-one different places, according to a list printed by Thomas Rolph in the supplement

<sup>1</sup>Robert Stanton was born at St. Johns, Lower Canada, on June 6, 1794, the son of William Stanton, afterwards deputy assistant commissary general in Upper Canada. He was one of the first pupils enrolled in the Home District Grammar school established at York in 1807; and on August 19, 1826, he was appointed king's printer for Upper Canada. He was the editor and publisher of the *Upper Canada Gazette* from 1826 to 1843. From 1843 to 1849 he was collector of customs at Toronto; and from 1849 to his death he was an officer of the law courts at Osgoode Hall, Toronto. He died in Toronto on February 24, 1866.

<sup>2</sup>Captain William Sibbald was the son of Colonel William Sibbald, of the 15th Regiment of Foot, and that Mrs. Sibbald whose *Memoirs* have been published by her grandson, Commander F. P. Hett (London, 1926). Captain Sibbald had been an officer in the 1st or Royal Regiment, had come to Canada about 1832, and was interested in town-plots in Orillia.

<sup>3</sup>George Gurnett was born in Horsham, Sussex, about 1792. He came to America when a young man, and prior to 1826 lived at Richmond, Virginia. About 1826 he settled in Ancaster, Upper Canada; and there he published from 1827 to 1828 the *Gore Gazette*. At the beginning of 1829 he founded in York (Toronto) the *Courier of Upper Canada*, and he continued publication of this paper until he sold it to the Fothergills in 1837. In 1837, and again in 1848, 1849, and 1850, he was mayor of Toronto; and in 1851 he became police magistrate of Toronto. He died at Toronto on November 7, 1861, in the seventieth year of his age.

<sup>4</sup>Thomas Dalton was the publisher of the *Patriot*, a paper which he had founded in Kingston in 1828, and removed to York (Toronto) in 1832. He died in Toronto in 1840.

<sup>5</sup>John Kent was a young Englishman who was at this time (1833) a master in the preparatory school of Upper Canada College. In 1838 he became one of Sir George Arthur's secretaries; and from 1840 to 1843 he was the editor of the *Church*. He returned to England, became the tutor and later the secretary of the fourth Earl of Carnarvon, and died at an advanced age, within our own times, on the island of Madeira.

<sup>6</sup>Stephen Randal was a young Englishman born about 1804, who came to Upper Canada as a protégé of the bishop of Quebec. In 1828 he was teaching school in Hamilton; and about 1832 he was the editor of the *Hamilton Free Press*. About 1836 he went to Hallowell (Picton), and there, in January, 1837, he issued the first number of *Randal's Magazine*.

to his *Brief account* (Dundas, U.C., 1836)—a book itself printed in a newspaper office conducted by a pioneer printer and publisher of Upper Canada, George Heyworth Hackstaff.<sup>1</sup> But by the end of 1837 this nominal roll had suffered a severe declension. I do not know that anyone has yet pointed out what was one of the most significant results of the Rebellion of 1837, the high rate of mortality among Reform newspapers in Upper Canada at that time. The *Grenville Gazette*, the *Kingston Spectator*, the *Cobourg Reformer*, the *Constitution*, the *Correspondent and Advocate*, the *Hamilton Free Press*, the *Freeman's Journal*, and the *St. Thomas Liberal* all appear to have ceased publication during the troubles of 1837. The province was swept almost clean of Reform newspapers; and thus the ground was cleared for the success of the *Examiner* of Francis Hincks and the *Globe* of George Brown.

Most of the papers printed in Upper Canada before 1840 were the product of wooden hand-presses. It was not until after 1830 that iron presses made their appearance. Joseph Wilson of the *Hallowell Free Press* imported from the United States about 1832 what is described as "one of the first iron printing-presses in the province." Not until 1833 was the manufacture of iron printing-presses begun in York by Charles Perry in his "Steam Engine Factory"; and, as late as 1838, Samuel Thompson notes in his *Reminiscences* that the *Herald* in York was still printed on "an old wooden press of the Columbian type."

The circulation of these early newspapers was decidedly limited. In 1824, it was asserted by William Lyon Mackenzie that only one of the newspapers of Upper Canada, apart from the *Colonial Advocate*, had a circulation exceeding 400 copies. Seven years later it was noted, as an extraordinary circumstance, that the *Christian Guardian* (which had always an exceptional mailing-list) was printing every week 2,000 copies. Few of these early newspapers can have shown a profit. The collection of subscriptions was always difficult; and frequently advertisements stood for weeks, as space-filers. When one paper suspended publication, it is said to have had fourteen subscribers.

Another noteworthy feature of the early newspapers of Upper Canada was the youthfulness of their editors. We do not know

<sup>1</sup>George Heyworth Hackstaff was an American printer who founded at Dundas in 1834 the *Dundas Weekly Post*. On the death of the *Weekly Post* in 1836, he went to Toronto, and in 1837 he became, with John F. Rogers, the publisher of the *Toronto Herald*. In 1838 he sold his interest in this paper to Samuel Thompson; and in 1839 he founded in London, U.C., the *Inquirer*.

the age of Louis Roy when he came to Niagara in 1793, but he was still, apparently, a young man. The age of Gideon Tiffany, who succeeded him as the publisher of the *Upper Canada Gazette*, may be gauged by the fact that in 1853 (nearly sixty years later) William Lyon Mackenzie reported him in *Mackenzie's Message* as still living on his farm in Middlesex. When Stephen Miles founded the first newspaper in Kingston, he was under age; and the *Kingston Gazette* was first published under the name of Mower and Kendall—Nahum Mower of Montreal being his backer, and Charles Kendall his journeyman printer. When Bartimus Ferguson undertook to publish the outbursts of Robert Gourlay in the *Niagara Spectator* in 1819, he was only twenty-seven years of age. William Lyon Mackenzie was still in his twenties when he founded the *Colonial Advocate* at Queenston, and Francis Collins was only twenty-four years old when he established the *Canadian Freeman* at York. Stephen Randal was in his twenties when he edited the *Hamilton Free Press* and the *Voyager*; as were William Sibbald and John Kent when they edited, respectively, the *Canadian Magazine* and the *Canadian Literary Magazine*. Journalism in Upper Canada was, in no small measure, the creation of youth.

W. S. WALLACE

#### A CHECK-LIST OF UPPER CANADIAN PERIODICALS, 1793-1840<sup>1</sup>

##### 1793

1. *Upper Canada Gazette, or American Oracle*. Weekly, founded at Newark (Niagara) under government auspices by Louis Roy on April 18, 1793, and published there by Louis Roy until the autumn of 1794, by Gideon Tiffany until the autumn of 1797, and by Titus Geer Simons until October 20, 1798. Then removed to York, and published there by William Waters and Titus Geer Simons from October 27, 1798, to August 8, 1801, and by John Bennett from

<sup>1</sup>In the compilation of this list, I have been indebted to the assistance of many people; but special acknowledgement must be made of the kindness of the Hon. Martin Burrell, the librarian of parliament, Ottawa; of Dr. A. G. Doughty, the Dominion archivist; of Colonel Alexander Fraser, the Ontario archivist; of Mr. Kyte, the librarian of Queen's University; of Mr. Landon, the librarian of the University of Western Ontario; of Mr. Ægidius Fauteux, the librarian of the Sulpician Library, Montreal; of Dr. George H. Locke, the chief librarian of the Public Library, Toronto; of Mr. A. T. Wilgress, the librarian of the Legislative Library, Toronto; of Miss Catherine Creed, the curator of the Niagara Historical Society; of Miss Dorothea Hallford, the librarian of McMaster University, Hamilton; and of Mrs. Lyle, the librarian of the Hamilton Public Library.

August 15, 1801, to April 15, 1807. Then became the *York Gazette*, and under this name was published by John Cameron, assisted at first by John Bennett, until 1813, when the press was destroyed during the American occupation of York. The *York Gazette* was revived in 1815; but in 1817 Cameron, who had died, was succeeded by Robert Charles Horne, and the journal was re-named the *Upper Canada Gazette*. In 1822 Horne was succeeded as king's printer by Charles Fothergill, who issued it for a time in two parts, the *Upper Canada Gazette* and the *York Weekly Post*; and Fothergill was succeeded in 1827 by Robert Stanton, who gave it the name of the *Upper Canada Gazette and U.E. Loyalist*. In 1828 the *U.E. Loyalist* became a separate publication, and from that date until the Union of 1841 the *Upper Canada Gazette* was published "by authority" as the official organ of the government of Upper Canada. In 1841 the *Canada Gazette* was founded, and the *Upper Canada Gazette* lost its official character. It continued, however, to appear until 1845. For fuller details, see the *Report of the Ontario Bureau of Archives* for 1906, pp. xii-xxxii. Incomplete files of the *Gazette* are to be found in the Ontario Legislative Library and in the Library of Parliament at Ottawa.

## 1799

2. *Canada Constellation*. Weekly, founded by Silvester and Gideon Tiffany at Niagara, "opposite the Lion Tavern", on July 19, 1799. Ceased publication toward the end of 1800. Nos. 3-27 (August 2, 1799—January 18, 1800) are in the Ontario Legislative Library.

## 1801

3. *Niagara Herald*.<sup>1</sup> Weekly, founded by Silvester Tiffany on January 17, 1801. Ceased publication on August 28, 1802. An incomplete file is in the Ontario Legislative Library.

## 1807

4. *Upper Canada Guardian, or Freeman's Journal*. Weekly, published at Niagara by Joseph Willcocks from September, 1807, to June, 1812. Only odd copies of this paper survive: one is in the Ontario Legislative Library, one in the London (Ont.) Public Library, and several are in the Colonial Office, filed with official despatches. One copy is described in the *Papers and records of the Ontario Historical Society*, vol. XXIII (1926), pp. 28-32; and another in A. J. Clark, "A newspaper of 1810" (*Canadian magazine*, April, 1911).

## 1810

5. *Kingston Gazette*. Weekly, founded on September 25, 1810, by Stephen Miles, under the name of Mower and Kendall, Miles being then under age, Mower his backer, and Kendall his journeyman printer. Ceased publication at the beginning of 1819, when Miles sold the paper to the founders of the *Kingston Chronicle*. For an account of the history of this paper, see W. Canniff, *History of the settlement of Upper Canada* (Toronto, 1869), pp. 353-4. A partial file is in the Queen's University Library, Kingston.

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<sup>1</sup>This is the first of three *Niagara Heralds*.

## 1812

6. *Bee.* Weekly, published at Niagara by James Durand during the latter half of 1812. A copy of this paper is described by Charles Durand in his *Reminiscences* (Toronto, 1897), pp. 163-8; and the issue of October 25, 1812, is referred to by J. E. Middleton, *The province of Ontario* (Toronto, 1927), p. 776.
7. *Telegraph.* Weekly, said by H. J. Morgan (*Bibliotheca canadensis*, p. 393) to have been published at Niagara by Joseph Willcocks for a few months in 1812, after the sale of the press of the *Upper Canada Guardian*.

## 1816

8. *Spectator.* Weekly, published "for the proprietors" by Richard Cockrel, editor, in the village of St. David's, in the Niagara peninsula, from the spring of 1816 to the autumn of 1817. The issue of July 19, 1816, is in the Museum of the Niagara Historical Society.

## 1817

9. *Gleaner and Niagara Newspaper.* Weekly, founded at Niagara on December 4, 1817, by Andrew Heron. Ceased publication in 1837. Broken files of this periodical are to be found in the Museum of the Niagara Historical Society, the Ontario Archives Department, and the Toronto Public Library.
10. *Niagara Spectator.* Weekly, founded in March, 1817, at Niagara, by Amos McKenney; acquired in 1818 by Benjamin Pawling and Bartimus Ferguson; ceased publication in 1819. Some copies for each of the years 1817, 1818, and 1819 are in the Museum of the Niagara Historical Society.

## 1818

11. *Upper Canada Phoenix.* Weekly, founded at Dundas by Richard Cockrel, about August 21, 1818. Probably ceased publication in 1819. Vol. I, no. 20 (June 26, 1818) is in the Museum of the Niagara Historical Society. The issue of September 28, 1819, is described in W. F. Moore, "Dundas in the early days" (*Transactions of the Wentworth Historical Society*, vol. 8, pp. 47-58).

## 1819

12. *Canadian Argus and Niagara Spectator.* Weekly, "printed and published by William B. Peters, Esquire, in the town of Niagara, U.C.", on November 17, 1819. Probably ceased publication in 1820. The issue of March 2, 1820 (Vol. I, no. 16) is noted in the Canadian Archives Report, 1910, p. 94.
13. *Christian Recorder.* Monthly, edited by the Rev. John Strachan, founded in March, 1819. Ceased publication in 1821. The first few numbers "printed at the Chronicle office, Kingston, by S. Miles"; but the later numbers of the first volume "printed at the office of the U.C. Gazette, York, by George Dawson." Vols. I-II (March, 1819—March, 1821) are in the Toronto Public Library and the Library of Parliament at Ottawa.
14. *Kingston Chronicle.* Weekly, founded by John Macaulay and John Alexander Pringle, in the beginning of 1819. Later acquired by James Macfarlane and Company. Subsequently, on July 1, 1835, became the *Chronicle and Gazette*, then the *Chronicle and News*, and finally the *Whig-Standard* of to-day. A file of the early years is in the Public Archives of Canada; and a number of later volumes are in the Queen's University Library.

15. *Upper Canada Herald*. Weekly, founded at Kingston by Hugh C. Thomson, editor and proprietor, on March 9, 1819. H. C. Thomson died on April 23, 1834, but the paper continued publication until 1851. Broken files from 1819 to 1840 are in the Archives at Ottawa and Toronto, and a file from 1832 to 1840 is in the Toronto Public Library.

## 1820

16. *Brockville Recorder*. Weekly, founded at Brockville by Chauncey Beach on January 16, 1821, but purchased in 1823 by William Buell, Jr., and conducted by him until 1849, when it was sold to David Wylie. This newspaper is still published and under its original name. Copies of the early issues are scarce: there are numbers for 1823 and 1827 in the Ontario Archives, for 1822 and 1825 in the Sulpician Library at Montreal, and four numbers of 1828 in the Montreal Public Library. A file from 1830 to 1839 is in the Public Archives at Ottawa.
17. *Observer*. Weekly, founded at York by John Carey about May 22, 1820. Ceased publication in 1831. Copies are to be found in the Ontario Archives, in the Public Archives at Ottawa, and in the Toronto Public Library.

## 1823

18. *Rosesharp*. "In 1823, a literary magazine was issued for a short time at York (Toronto), entitled 'The Rosesharp; for the encouragement of loyalty, genius, and merit'. . . . The originator of the 'Rosesharp' miscellany . . . was Mr. James M. Cawdell" (H. Scadding, *Some Canadian noms-de-plume identified*, Toronto, 1877, p. 48).

## 1824

19. *Canadian*. Weekly, founded at Niagara by Livingston C. Beardsley, and printed by Hiram Leavenworth, on August 11, 1824. Ceased publication probably in the autumn of 1825. A copy of vol. I, no. 44 (August 17, 1825) is in the Museum of the Niagara Historical Society.
20. *Colonial Advocate*. Weekly, founded at Queenston by William Lyon Mackenzie on May 20, 1824. Removed to York (Toronto) in November, 1824. Suspended publication for six months in the latter half of 1826. In December, 1833, name changed to *Advocate*; and on November 4, 1834, merged with the *Canadian Correspondent*, the combined paper becoming the *Correspondent and Advocate*. A complete file of the *Colonial Advocate* is in the University of Toronto Library; and a broken file in the Public Archives at Ottawa.

## 1825

21. *Canadian Freeman*. Weekly, founded at York by Francis Collins about June, 1825. Ceased publication on the death of Collins by cholera in 1834. For fuller details of the history of this paper, see J. C. Dent, *The Upper Canadian Rebellion* (Toronto, 1885), vol. I, chap. ix, "The case of Francis Collins." A file from 1827 to 1834 is in the Public Archives, Ottawa.

## 1826

22. *Farmers' Gazette*. Probably a weekly, published in Markham, near York, during part of 1826 and 1827. Offered for sale in an advertisement, dated February 3, 1827, in the *Colonial Advocate*.

23. *Farmers' Journal and Welland Canal Intelligencer*. Weekly, founded at St. Catharines, on February 1, 1826, by Hiram Leavenworth. On January 28, 1834, was amalgamated with the *British Colonial Argus*, and became the *British American Journal*, under the editorship of James H. Sears; but the publication of this paper was suspended a year later, and in 1835, Hiram Leavenworth resumed publication of the *Farmers' Journal*. It passed into the hands of Thorpe Holmes in 1843, and into those of John Grant in 1857. In 1859 it became a daily, and is still published. A file from 1835 to 1840 is in the Public Archives at Ottawa.

## 1827

24. *Gore Gazette, and Ancaster, Hamilton, Dundas, and Flamborough Advertiser*. Weekly, founded by George Gurnett in Ancaster on March 3, 1827. Ceased publication at the end of 1828. A file from March 17, 1827, to December 27, 1828, is in the Provincial Archives.

## 1828

25. *Bathurst Independent Examiner*. Weekly, founded at Perth by F. H. Cumming. "Only a very broken file remains" (A. Haydon, *Pioneer sketches in the District of Bathurst*, Toronto, 1928, p. 183).
26. *Brockville Gazette*. Weekly, founded at Brockville on August 28, 1828, by James Macfarlane, and printed by one Tomkins. Ceased publication at the end of 1832, when it was replaced by the *Antidote*. Odd copies are in the Ontario Archives and in the Montreal Public Library.
27. *Courier of Upper Canada*. Weekly, founded at York toward the end of 1828 by George Gurnett. Tri-weekly from 1825. Ceased publication in the autumn of 1837, when Gurnett sold it to Charles Fothergill, by whom it was re-named the *Palladium of British America*. Broken files are to be found in the Ontario Archives, the University of Toronto Library, and the Toronto Public Library.
28. *Kingston Gazette and Religious Advocate*. Weekly, founded by Stephen Miles at Kingston on May 15, 1828. Ceased publication in 1835, when merged with the *Chronicle*. Copies for 1828-29 are in the University of Toronto Library.
29. *Niagara Herald*.<sup>1</sup> Weekly, founded in Niagara by E. McBride and Bartimus Ferguson in January, 1828. Later published "by James Gedd for James Crooks." Ceased publication about 1830. A broken file is in the Museum of the Niagara Historical Society.
30. *Patriot and Farmers' Monitor*. Weekly, founded in Kingston by Thomas Dalton about September, 1828. Removed to York, and began publication there on December 10, 1832. Dalton died in 1840; but the paper was carried on by his widow until 1848, when it was sold to Lieut.-Col. E. G. O'Brien. In 1853 it was acquired by Ogle R. Gowan; and in 1864 it was absorbed by the *Leader*. In April, 1850, a daily edition appeared, under the heading *Daily Patriot and Express*. A broken file of the *Patriot* is in the Toronto Public Library, and a file from 1835 to 1839 is in the Library of Parliament, Ottawa.
31. *U.E. Loyalist*. Weekly, founded in York by Robert Stanton on June 7, 1828, as an offshoot of the *Upper Canada Gazette*. Ceased publication probably in 1829. A file is in the Ontario Legislative Library and in the Toronto Public Library.

<sup>1</sup>This is the second *Niagara Herald*.

1829

32. *Christian Guardian*. Weekly, founded in York on November 21, 1829, by Egerton Ryerson, as the organ of the Wesleyan Methodists. Re-named in 1926 the *New Outlook*. An incomplete file from the beginning is in the Library of Victoria University, Toronto.
33. *Gore Balance*. Weekly, founded by Bartimus Ferguson at Hamilton in November, 1829. Ceased publication probably in 1831, when it was succeeded by the *Western Mercury*. Vol. I, no. 15 (March 18, 1830) is noted in the Canadian Archives Report, 1910, p. 94.

1830

34. *Brockville Sentinel*. Weekly, founded by Ogle R. Gowan in Brockville in 1830. Toward the end of 1832 it was succeeded by the *Antidote*; and in 1837 the *Antidote* was succeeded by the *Brockville Statesman*, which Gowan continued to publish until 1851. A copy of vol. II, no. 47 of the *Statesman* is in the Library of Parliament.
35. *Canadian Watchman*. Weekly, founded at Kingston on August 13, 1830, by Ezra S. Ely, proprietor, and Stephen Miles, printer. Ceased publication at the end of 1832, and was succeeded in 1833 by the *Kingston Spectator*. A file from August 13, 1830 to February 18, 1831, is in the Ontario Archives.
36. *Catholic*. Weekly, founded in Kingston by the Rev. W. P. McDonald on October 22, 1830, and printed in the *Patriot* office by Thomas Dalton. Ceased publication in 1831. Resumed publication in 1841. A complete file of the first volume (October 22, 1830, to October 14, 1831) is in the Montreal Public Library; and vols. 1-5 are in the Sulpician Library, Montreal.
37. *Hallowell Free Press*. Weekly, founded at Hallowell (Picton) on December 13, 1830, by Joseph Wilson, and edited for one year by W. A. Welles. Ceased publication in 1835, and was succeeded by the *Traveller, or Prince Edward Gazette*. This journal later became the *Picton Gazette*, which is still in existence. A file of the *Hallowell Free Press* from December 13, 1830, to November 10, 1834, is in the possession of the proprietors of the *Picton Gazette*; and the first volume (1830-31) is in the Queen's University Library.
38. *Prescott Telegraph*. Weekly, founded by J. Ketchum Averill and Stephen Miles, and printed by S. B. Merrill in the spring of 1830 (*Colonial Advocate*, May 6, 1830). Ceased publication probably in 1832, when Miles founded the *Grenville Gazette*. About 1850 the *Prescott Telegraph* was revived by S. B. Merrill.
39. *Spirit of the Times*. Weekly, founded at Niagara in January, 1830, by W. L. Daly, edited by Alexander Stewart, and printed at the *Gleaner* office. "Lasted only a year or so." The issue of January 24, 1830, is in the Museum of the Niagara Historical Society.

1831

40. *Anglo-Canadian*. Weekly, founded in Belleville on February 24, 1831, by Alexander Williamson, editor. Ceased publication in June, 1831, when it gave place to the *Phoenix*. Vol. I, no. 5 (March 23, 1831) is in the Toronto Public Library.
41. *Canadian Casket*. Fortnightly, founded in Hamilton by A. Crosman on October 15, 1831, edited by John Gladwin, and printed at the office of the *Western Mercury*. Ceased publication on September 29, 1832. A file is in the Toronto Public Library.

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42. *Canadian Emigrant*. Weekly, founded at Sandwich in November, 1831, by John Cowan (*Colonial Advocate*, December 3, 1831). Ceased publication about 1837.
43. *Canadian Wesleyan*. Weekly, founded at Hamilton in October, 1831, by A. K. McKenzie as "the organ of the Ryan Methodists." It is described as "published every Thursday, under the direction of H. Ryan and Company, appointed by order of the Canadian Wesleyan Conference, [Wyllys] Smith, printer." Ceased publication about 1835. Vol. II, no. 5 (November 8, 1832) is in the University of Toronto Library.
44. *Cobourg Star and Newcastle General Advertiser*. Weekly, founded at Cobourg on January 11, 1831, by R. D. Chatterton. Still in existence. A complete file of this newspaper is in Cobourg, and a partial file in the Toronto Public Library.
45. *Hamilton Free Press*. Weekly, founded in Hamilton about July 5, 1831, by William Smith and George H. Hackstaff. For several years its editor was Stephen Randal. It seems to have ceased publication about 1837. Scattered copies are in the University of Toronto Library, the Hamilton Public Library, and the Museum of the Niagara Historical Society.
46. *Phoenix*. Weekly, founded in Belleville in June, 1831, by Thomas Slicer, "a respectable merchant of that place", with W. A. Welles as editor. Ceased publication on July 3, 1832, when it gave place to the *Hastings Times*. Vol. I, no. 16 (October 25, 1831) is in the Toronto Public Library.
47. *Port Hope Telegraph*. Weekly, founded by John A. Vail at Port Hope, but purchased shortly afterwards in 1831 by William Furby. The name of the paper was changed to the *Warden* in 1833 and the *Gazette* in 1836. In 1838 it ceased publication; but in 1844 it was revived by William Furby as the *Port Hope Gazette and Durham Advertiser*, and after 1851 as the *Guide*. With a few breaks it has continued publication since that date as a weekly, and since 1878 as a daily. See W. A. Craick, *Port Hope historical sketches* (Port Hope, 1901).
48. *St. Thomas Journal*. Weekly, founded on November 3, 1831, by George Hodgkinson, printer and publisher. A year later Thomas Hodgkinson appears as editor. Ceased publication before 1836. Copies of the paper for 1832 are preserved in the Talbot papers. (See James H. Coyne, ed., "The Talbot papers," *Trans. Roy. Soc. Can.*, 1907-1909.)
49. *Sun*. Weekly, founded in London by Edward Allen Talbot. Talbot left London in 1832, and the paper was later published by Robert Heron, with W. C. Keele as co-editor. Ceased publication about 1834. No copies known to exist. See F. Landon, "Some early newspapers and newspapermen of London" (*Transactions of the London and Middlesex Historical Society*, part xii, 1927, pp. 26-34).
50. *Western Mercury*. Weekly, published in Hamilton by James Johnson, editor, on January 20, 1831. "The old Gore Balance under a new title" (*Colonial Advocate*, September 24, 1831). From April, 1834, published semi-weekly. Ceased publication about 1835. A file from January 20, 1831, to July 10, 1834, is in the Toronto Public Library.

### 1832

51. *British Constitution*. Weekly, founded in Perth by William Tully. Had ceased publication by 1834.
52. *Canadian Correspondent*. Weekly, founded in York by James King in November, 1832, and edited by the Rev. W. J. O'Grady. In 1834 merged with the *Colonial Advocate*, and re-named the *Correspondent and Advocate*. Ceased publication in 1837. Odd copies of this paper are in the Toronto Public

Library, the University of Toronto Library, and the Ontario Archives. Vol. III (1834) of the *Correspondent and Advocate* is in the Toronto Public Library, and numbers from 1835 to 1837 are in the Ontario Archives and the University of Toronto Library.

53. *Cornwall Observer and Eastern District General Advertiser*. Weekly, founded in Cornwall by W. W. Wyman, "who after some years took John Carter into partnership with him" (J. F. Pringle, *Lunenburgh*, Cornwall, 1890, ch. xiv). Ceased publication between 1846 and 1851. A file from 1833 to 1835 is in the Library of Parliament, Ottawa.
54. *Garland*. Semi-monthly, published in Hamilton by Wyllys Smith, at the office of the *Canadian Wesleyan*, on September 15, 1832. Ceased publication in August, 1833. Vol. I (all published) is in the Toronto Public Library.
55. *Grenville Gazette*. Weekly, founded at Prescott in January, 1832, by Stephen Miles, and purchased from him by Daniel McLeod in 1833. Printed by S. B. Merrill, and probably a continuation of the *Prescott Telegraph*. Ceased publication at the time of the Rebellion of 1837. A photostat copy of one issue in 1833 is in the University of Toronto Library.
56. *Hastings Times*. Weekly, founded in Belleville in succession to the *Phoenix* in July, 1832, by Rollin C. Benedict, with W. A. Welles as editor. Had ceased publication by 1836.
57. *Liberal*. Weekly, founded in St. Thomas in September, 1832. Edited first by Asahel B. Lewis (d. October, 1833), then by J. Kent, and lastly by John Talbot. Ceased publication during the Rebellion of 1837. A file for 1832 is owned by the Essex Historical Society; and the issues for January 29 and March 26, 1835, are in the Museum of the Niagara Historical Society.
58. *Mirror*. Weekly, founded in St. Catharines by Joseph Clarke. Ceased publication after a few months, and before January, 1833.
59. *Niagara Literary Miscellany*. "Almost still-born."
60. *Niagara News*. Noted in a list of Niagara newspapers in *Publications of the Niagara Historical Society*, no. 32, p. 10.
61. *Perth Spectator*. "A new paper entitled the Perth Spectator, by R. J. Gemmell, is about to be published at Perth" (*Colonial Advocate*, September 13, 1832). This is the Gemmill who in 1850 founded in Lanark the *Observer*.
62. *Reformer*. Weekly, founded at Cobourg in June, 1832, by James Radcliffe, editor. Ceased publication in 1837. Issues from December 14, 1832, to December 29, 1835, are in the Toronto Public Library.
63. *Sapper and Miner*. Weekly, published at York in 1832 by G. W. Thompson, with John Carey as editor. Ceased publication within the year. Vol. I, no. 25 (October 25, 1832) is in the Toronto Public Library.
64. *Voyager*. "Semi-monthly literary journal", founded at Hamilton in February, 1832, and edited by Stephen Randal. Had ceased publication by 1833.

#### 1833

65. *British Colonial Argus*. Weekly, founded at St. Catharines in August, 1833, by a joint-stock company, with James H. Sears as editor. Ceased publication in fifteen weeks. At the beginning of 1834 amalgamated with the *Farmers' Journal*, and re-named the *British American Journal*. A file of this paper from August 6, 1833, to September 24, 1835, is in the Public Archives of Canada.

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66. *Canadian Literary Magazine.* Monthly, founded in York on April 6, 1833, by George Gurnett, publisher; printed by Thomas Dalton, and edited by John Kent. Only three numbers appear to have been published, of which nos. 1 and 2 are in the Toronto Public Library.
67. *Canadian Magazine.* Monthly, founded in York in January, 1833, by Robert Stanton, printer and publisher, and edited by Capt. William Sibbald, "late of the 1st or Royal Regiment." At least four numbers were published, of which nos. 1 and 3 are in the Toronto Public Library.
68. *Kingston Spectator.* Weekly, founded by Noble Palmer at the beginning of January, 1833, in succession to the *Canadian Watchman*. Six months later it changed hands, and was published by John Vincent, who "is stated to have been the occasional editor of the *Herald* in the absence of Mr. Thomson" (*Colonial Advocate*, August 1, 1833). Ceased publication about 1836.
69. *Niagara Reporter.* Weekly, founded by Thomas Sewell at Niagara on May 10, 1833. Ceased publication about 1842. Odd copies for 1835, 1836, 1837, and 1841 in the Museum of the Niagara Historical Society.

### 1834

70. *Bathurst Courier and Ottawa Gazette.* Weekly, founded in Perth by John and Malcolm Cameron. Name later changed to *Bathurst Gazette and Ottawa General Advertiser*, and then to *Perth Courier*, the name under which it is still published. A broken file from August 29, 1834, to December 15, 1837, is in the Ontario Archives; and a file from 1835 onward is in the Public Archives of Canada.
71. *Belleville Intelligencer.* Weekly, founded in Belleville in September, 1834, by George Benjamin, editor and proprietor. Purchased by Mackenzie (later Sir Mackenzie) Bowell in 1848; and still published.
72. *Brantford Sentinel.* Weekly, founded in Brantford by D. M. Keeler; in 1839 merged in a larger paper, the *Brantford Courier*, edited by Thomas Lemmon. A daily edition issued in 1871. Ceased publication in 1918.
73. *British American Journal.* Weekly, founded at St. Catharines on January 28, 1834, by Hiram Leavenworth, publisher, and James H. Sears, editor, in succession to the *Farmers' Journal* and the *British Colonial Argus*. Ceased publication after about a year, when Leavenworth resumed publication of the *Farmers' Journal*. Vol. I, no. 1 (January 28)—no. 30 (October 14) is in the Toronto Public Library.
74. *British Whig.* Semi-weekly, founded in Kingston in January, 1834, by Edward J. Barker, M.D. Published daily from 1849. Still in existence as the *Whig-Standard*.
75. *Dundas Weekly Post.* Weekly, founded at Dundas in April, 1834, by George H. Hackstaff. Ceased publication on July 26, 1836. Vol. II, no. 17 (August 18, 1835) and vol. III, no. 13 (July 26, 1836) are in the Toronto Public Library.
76. *Standard of Moira.* Weekly, published at Belleville in the spring of 1834, and described in the *Colonial Advocate*, June 26, 1834, as "blackguard Tory." Survived only six weeks.
77. *Toronto Recorder and General Mercantile Advertiser.* Semi-weekly, founded in Toronto in July, 1834, by G. Perkins Bull. Ceased publication in 1835 when Bull founded the *Hamilton Gazette*. Vol. I, no. 4 (July 30, 1834) is in the Toronto Public Library.

78. *True Patriot and London District Advertiser*. Weekly, founded in London by John and George Washington Busteed. "Published but a short time."
79. *Vanguard*. Weekly, founded at Prescott by W. B. Wells. Published probably for only a short time.

## 1835

80. *Ark*. Weekly, published in Niagara. Noted in a list of Niagara newspapers in *Publications of the Niagara Historical Society*, no. 32, p. 10. Was this the short-lived paper said to have been established in Niagara about this time by Edward Allen Talbot?
81. *Canada Museum and Allgemeine Zeitung*. Weekly, founded in Berlin on August 27, 1835, by Heinrich Wilhelm Peterson. A copy for June 23, 1836, is in the Toronto Public Library. Ceased publication about 1840.
82. *Hamilton Gazette*. Semi-weekly, published in Hamilton by George Perkins Bull. Ceased publication about September 1, 1856. A file from 1836 to 1841 is in the Library of Parliament, Ottawa.
83. *Welland Canal*. Weekly, published by W. L. Mackenzie in Toronto in December, 1835. No. 1 (December 16, 1835)—no. 3 (December 30, 1835) in the Toronto Public Library.

## 1836

84. *Albion of Upper Canada*. Weekly, founded in Toronto in the summer of 1836 by James Cull, and printed by John F. Rogers. Ceased publication in March, 1837. The issue for September 17, 1836, is in the Ontario Archives.
85. *Bytown Independent and Farmers' Advocate*. Weekly, founded in Bytown (Ottawa) by James Johnston on February 2, 1836. Purchased two months later by Alexander James Christie, and re-named the *Bytown Gazette and Ottawa and Rideau Advertiser*. A broken file is in the Library of Parliament, Ottawa.
86. *Chippawa Herald*. Noted in a list of newspapers in T. Rolph, *A brief account . . . together with a statistical account of Upper Canada* (Dundas, U.C., 1836), suppl. Probably short-lived.
87. *Constitution*. Weekly, founded at Toronto on July 5, 1836, by W. L. Mackenzie. Ceased publication on December 6, 1837. A file is in the University of Toronto Library.
88. *Hamilton Express*. Weekly, founded about 1836 in Hamilton. Seems to have ceased publication about 1839. Probably absorbed by the *Journal and Express* published in Hamilton in the forties.
89. *Freeman's Journal*. Weekly, founded in London by Edward Allen Talbot, after his return to London from Niagara. Ceased publication probably in 1838, since Talbot died in the United States on January 9, 1839.
90. *Kingston Statesman*. Weekly, published at Kingston. Ceased publication about 1845. Vol. VIII, no. 24 (May 8, 1844) is in the Toronto Public Library.
91. *Niagara Telegraph*. Noted in a list of Niagara newspapers in the *Publications of the Niagara Historical Society*, no. 32, p. 10.
92. *Plain Speaker*. Weekly, founded by S. P. Hart in Belleville; removed to Cobourg on June 5, 1838. See W. R. Riddell, "An old provincial newspaper" (Ontario Historical Society, *Papers and records*, vol. XIX, 1922, pp. 139-143).
93. *Prescott Herald*. Noted in a list of newspapers in T. Rolph, *A brief account* (Dundas, U.C., 1836), suppl.
94. *Royal Standard*. Daily, founded in Toronto on November 9, 1836. "It was edited in turns by Mr. Lloyd Richardson, Mr. Osborne, Mr. Cull, and partly by Sir

- Francis Bond Head." Ceased publication on February 11, 1837. Nos. 1-56 (November 9, 1836—February 8, 1837) are in the Toronto Public Library.
95. *Traveller, or Prince Edward Gazette*. Weekly, founded at Picton on January 29, 1836, by Cecil Mortimer, editor and proprietor, and John Silver, printer, probably in succession to the *Hallowell Free Press*. Continued in 1840 as the *Prince Edward Gazette*, and in 1849 the name changed to the *Picton Gazette*, which is still in existence. Vol. I, no. 15 (May 13, 1836) is in the Library of Parliament, Ottawa.
96. *Upper Canada Argus*. Weekly, founded in June, 1836, at Cornwall. "We have received eleven numbers of the *Upper Canada Argus*" (*Constitution*, September 21, 1836). Probably short-lived.
97. *Upper Canada Baptist Missionary Magazine*. Bi-monthly, founded in Toronto by S. Read, printed by W. J. Coates, and edited by the Rev. J. E. Maxwell. Ceased publication in 1838.
98. *Youth's Monitor and Monthly Magazine*. Monthly, founded in Toronto in January, 1836, by S. Read, and printed by W. J. Coates. Vol. I (January-July, 1836) is in the Toronto Public Library.

## 1837

99. *Backwoodsman and Peterborough Sentinel*. Weekly, founded in Peterborough by John Darcus. Ceased publication before 1844, when Darcus absconded. (See T. W. Poole, *Sketch of the early settlement of Peterborough*, Peterborough, 1867, pp. 53-54, 64.)
100. *Canadian Christian Examiner and Presbyterian Review*. Monthly, founded at Niagara by William D. Miller, printed by Thomas Sewell, and edited by the Rev. Robert McGill. A file for 1837-40 is in the Toronto Public Library and in the Library of Parliament, Ottawa.
101. *Canadian Conservative*. Weekly, published in Hamilton. Reference is made to it in the *Constitution*, May 17, 1837, as having "died at seven weeks of age."
102. *Church*. Weekly, founded in Cobourg in May, 1837, by the Rev. A. N. Bethune, editor, as the organ of the Church of England. Removed to Toronto in 1840, when John Kent became editor. Moved back to Cobourg in 1843. Ceased publication in 1848. Vols. I-XI (1837-1848) are in the Toronto Public Library; and incomplete sets are to be found in the University of Toronto Library and the Library of Parliament, Ottawa.
103. *London Gazette*. Weekly, founded in London by Thomas and Benjamin Hodgkinson. Ceased publication in 1842.
104. *Mirror*. Weekly, founded in Toronto as a Roman Catholic newspaper by Charles Donlevy in June, 1837. Ceased publication in 1862. The issue of October 28, 1837, is in the Toronto Public Library, and copies for October 19, 1838, and July 3, 1840, are in the Ontario Archives.
105. *Niagara Chronicle*. Weekly, founded in Niagara on September 2, 1837, by John Simpson, afterwards (1864) provincial secretary of Canada. Ceased publication in 1854. A broken file from 1838 to 1852 is in the Museum of the Niagara Historical Society.
106. *Randal's Magazine*. "The first number of this witty newspaper, published in Hallowell, has just reached us; edited with his usual ability by our old friend, Mr. Stephen Randal, late of Hamilton. It is thoroughly radical" (*Constitution*, January 18, 1837).

107. *Toronto Herald*. Semi-weekly, founded in Toronto by John F. Rogers and George H. Hackstaff. In 1839 Hackstaff went to London to found the *Inquirer*, and his place was taken by Samuel Thompson (Thompson's *Reminiscences*, Toronto, 1884). About 1840, name changed to *Commercial Herald*. Ceased publication in 1848.

## 1838

108. *British Colonist*. Weekly, founded in Toronto at the beginning of 1838 by Hugh Scobie. The first two issues appeared under the name of the *Scotsman*. In 1853, when Scobie died, it had become a daily, as well as a weekly, and was purchased by Samuel Thompson. In 1858 it was absorbed by the *Leader*. Copies for 1838 and 1839 are in the Public Archives of Canada.
109. *Examiner*. Weekly, founded in Toronto by Francis (afterwards Sir Francis) Hincks, in June, 1838, and printed by M. Reynolds. In 1842 Hincks was succeeded in the editorship by Charles Lindsey; and in 1855 the *Examiner* was absorbed by the *Globe*. A broken file of the *Examiner* is in the Toronto Public Library, beginning with vol. II, no. 27 (January 1, 1840).
110. *Palladium of British America*. Weekly, founded by Charles Fothergill in Toronto at the beginning of 1838. Ceased publication on the death of Fothergill in 1839. A broken file from January 31, 1838, to June 27, 1838, is in the Ontario Archives.
111. *Western Herald and Farmers' Magazine*. Weekly, founded in Sandwich on January 3, 1838, by Henry Clark Grant, after the discontinuance of the *Canadian Emigrant*. At the end of 1842, removed to London, and published there as the *Herald* in January, 1843. The issue of January 3, 1838, noted in the *Papers and records of the Essex Historical Society*, vol. I, p. 37.

## 1839

112. *London Inquirer*. Weekly, founded in London in August, 1839, by George H. Hackstaff. Ceased publication about 1845.

## 1840

113. *Brantford Herald*. Semi-weekly, founded in Brantford by Wellesley Johnson. Became a daily paper about 1858. Ceased publication in 1861.
114. *Magnet*. Weekly, founded at Hamilton by O. B. B. Stevens. Had ceased publication by 1842.
115. *Quairtear nan Coille* (Ranger of the Woods). A Gaelic paper founded at Kingston by Thomas Stratton, M.D. "Enjoyed but a brief existence" (H. J. Morgan, *Bibliotheca canadensis*, s. v. Stratton).
116. *Woodstock Herald, and Brock District General Advertiser*. Weekly, founded at Woodstock by George Menzies in July, 1840. Ceased publication between 1846 and 1851.

## SIR JOHN ROSE AND THE INFORMAL BEGINNINGS OF THE CANADIAN HIGH COMMISSIONERSHIP

THE morrow of Confederation witnessed the emergence of many problems the solution of which was necessary to the preservation and development of that great achievement. Not the least important of these was the necessity of a readjustment of the imperial relationship consequent upon the transformation of separate colonies into a dominion which was a nation "in the gristle", to use the expressive phrase of Sir John A. Macdonald.<sup>1</sup> The dignity of the new state, the inevitability of increasing contacts with foreign powers in dealing with which the good offices of the mother land would have to be invoked, the disposition of the Hudson Bay territories, immigration, defence, and the financing of railway, postal, and telegraph enterprises—these and other matters of mutual concern necessitated a strengthening of the liaison between Canada and Great Britain. The old channel of communication through the governor-general and the colonial office, supplemented by occasional pilgrimages of Canadian ministers to London, soon proved inadequate. Something more continuous, immediate and flexible in its operation was needed—some Canadian representation in Britain comparable, though not identical, with the ambassadorial system long in operation between sovereign states. As is generally known, this need was definitely and formally met when, in April, 1880, Sir Alexander T. Galt took up his residence in London as Canada's first high commissioner; but it is not quite so widely known that, for more than a decade before this, many of the duties subsequently performed by the high commissioner had been discharged informally by the eminent Scottish-Canadian statesman and financier, Sir John Rose.

Even as early as two years after Confederation, Sir John Macdonald apparently entertained the idea of making the position

<sup>1</sup>M.P., P.L.B., XVII, 320, Macdonald to Rose, March 5, 1872. The manuscript material cited in this article is in the Public Archives of Canada. With the exception of two or three references to the *Baring papers* all the citations are from the *Macdonald papers* which are referred to in the footnotes by the abbreviation "M.P." In referring to the various volumes of the *Macdonald papers*, the following additional abbreviations have been used: *Correspondence with Sir John Rose*, "Cor. Rose"; *Correspondence with Sir Alexander Galt*, "Cor. Galt"; *Washington treaty papers*, "W. tr."; Sir John Macdonald's *Private letter books*, "P.L.B."

of Canadian political agent in London a formal one, but in a letter,<sup>1</sup> undated except for the year 1869, the Honourable John Rose, minister of finance, who was about to resign in order to enter a London banking firm, definitely asked him for the post, and urged that it should be kept informal in character:

I have been thinking over your observations on the subject of a Canadian representative in London. Would it not be unwise to put it on any higher footing at present than that of an informal political agency? There are hardly any grounds for giving it an extensive diplomatic character. In that aspect, and as I am going there, I think my connections in England and my knowledge of public affairs here would enable me to perform the duties creditably which my other work would in no way interfere with. If I found it did I should certainly say so, and take care that the interests of Canada were not prejudiced. I should care little about emolument —beyond being kept out of actual outlay, but as I should like it as some recognition of my past services, I think I have some claims to consideration, both on you and Cartier:—especially as any other appointment at the moment I went there would certainly be calculated to place me in a false position. That I feel very strongly, and as I can claim to have acted both in the matter of the Speakership<sup>2</sup> and with reference to my taking the office I now hold<sup>3</sup>—in a disinterested way, I think I may at the present moment claim the measure of consideration I now ask.

It is quite possible that it was thus at the solicitation of Rose that the Canadian representation in Britain for the next ten years was permitted to remain informal in character.

The mission demanded an intimate knowledge of Canada and its problems, a discerning acquaintance with the politics of the United States, an experience in diplomatic work, and a personality, at once adroit, cultivated, and forceful, which could make its mark in the political and social life of the Empire's capital. This com-

<sup>1</sup>M.P., *Cor. Rose 1869-74*, 88, Rose to Macdonald, 1869.

<sup>2</sup>Only one speakership could go to the province of Quebec, and Rose's chance of election to the first speakership of the house of commons had been spoiled by the appointment of a French Canadian, J. E. Cauchon, to the speakership of the senate. See Sir Joseph Pope, *Memoirs of Sir John Alexander Macdonald* (Ottawa, 1894), II, 5f.

<sup>3</sup>After accepting the portfolio of finance, Rose had received an exceedingly attractive offer to become a member of a London banking firm. At considerable pecuniary sacrifice he had decided that, in justice to his colleagues with an important session approaching, he must decline the offer. Upon its renewal after the session was over he accepted it. See *Debates of the house of commons, Canada* (1870), 55, speech of Sir John Macdonald, Feb. 17.

bination of qualities Rose possessed. In 1836, at the age of sixteen, he had come from Scotland to Canada. He was called to the bar of Lower Canada in 1842, and the busy years of his professional career in Montreal were coincident with such developments as the working out of responsible government, the movement for annexation and the achievement of reciprocity with the United States. By 1857 the keen eye of Macdonald had singled out the rising young barrister; and, in Macdonald's first cabinet, Rose became solicitor-general for Canada East. In 1858 he was made receiver-general, and, in 1859, minister of public works. Ill health forced his retirement from office in 1862, but, in 1867, he represented the Protestant educational interests of Canada East, at the conference in London which prepared the Confederation Act. From November, 1867, to September, 1869, the first two critical post-Confederation years, Rose, as holder of the important portfolio of finance, took a leading part in the promotion of a variety of measures designed to consolidate the new order of things.

To these qualifications could be added a not inconsiderable experience in diplomatic and quasi-diplomatic work. In 1857, Rose had accompanied Macdonald to London to secure aid for an intercolonial railway from Rivière du Loup to Halifax. The mission failed, but it brought Rose into contact with several members of the imperial cabinet, including the redoubtable Lord Palmerston.<sup>1</sup> The growing esteem in which the British authorities held him was shown by their subsequently employing him on two important missions: in 1867 he made a confidential inquiry into the alleged grievances of the province of Nova Scotia; and, from 1864 to 1869, he served as commissioner of the British government for the settlement of all claims arising out of the Oregon treaty of 1846, particularly those of the Hudson's Bay and Puget Sound Agricultural Companies. Not only did this protracted negotiation take Rose periodically to Washington, but, in 1869, the Canadian government confided to him the initiation of conversations with the American authorities with a view to the settlement of such problems as reciprocal trade, the fisheries, the extradition of criminals, copyright and patent laws, and the navigation of the St. Lawrence. These missions showed clearly that, in both Canada and England, Rose had come to be regarded as something more than a mere politician. He was an eminent public man to whom matters of national and imperial importance were entrusted with

<sup>1</sup> Pope, *Memoirs of Sir John Alexander Macdonald*, I, 166f.

a confidence that extended beyond the bounds of the particular political party to which he belonged.<sup>1</sup>

That Rose possessed exceptional qualifications for such diplomatic work, there is plenty of evidence. The biographer of Sir John A. Macdonald refers to his "singularly happy disposition and affectionate nature", and his "courteous and pleasant manner",<sup>2</sup> characteristics which in Canada had made him a universal favourite in political circles. In his missions to the United States he won the respect and liking of the American statesmen with whom he was called upon to deal. Caleb Cushing, counsel for the United States in the cases touching the Hudson's Bay and Puget Sound Agricultural Companies, when Rose was imperial commissioner, became his warm friend, described him as a "gentleman who enjoyed the confidence of both cabinets", and arranged to bring him into touch with Hamilton Fish, the American secretary of state, for later informal negotiations on behalf of the British government. Charles Francis Adams referred to him as "extremely adroit", and as "a natural diplomat of a high order."<sup>3</sup> In London, Rose's capacities met a similar recognition. He was at once received into the most intimate confidence of the colonial and foreign offices on many matters. The remaining nineteen years of his life are sprinkled with honours bespeaking recognition of his public services of various kinds. He became a member of the Athenæum, to which exclusive club he later helped to secure the election of Sir John Macdonald.<sup>4</sup> He was honoured with the friendship of the Prince of Wales, whose acquaintance he had made in 1860 when, as minister of public works, he was responsible for the arrangement of the prince's Canadian tour.<sup>5</sup> The circles, in which he was thus able to move, were such as to place him in the closest touch with the inside developments of British politics. Taken all in all, it is doubtful whether any of the men who have since enjoyed the title of high commissioner possessed qualifications for representing and serving Canada superior to those of the first informal political agent who paved the way for them.

<sup>1</sup>Good brief sketches of the career of Rose are given in *The Times*, London, Aug. 27, 1888; *The Globe* and the *Empire*, Toronto, of the same date; and the *Dictionary of national biography*, XVII, 242.

<sup>2</sup>Pope, *Memoirs of Sir John Alexander Macdonald*, II, 66.

<sup>3</sup>See Caleb Cushing, *The treaty of Washington* (New York, 1873), 19; Charles Francis Adams, Jr., *With Lee at Appomattox* (New York, 1903), 122; also J. C. Bancroft Davis, *Mr. Fish and the Alabama claims* (New York, 1893), 46.

<sup>4</sup>M.P., Cor. Rose 1875-87, 363, Rose to Macdonald, March 14, 1883.

<sup>5</sup>*The Times*, London, Aug. 27, 1888.

Rose submitted his resignation as minister of finance on September 27, 1869,<sup>1</sup> and on October 2, a memorandum<sup>2</sup> regarding his status and duties in England was formally approved as an order-in-council. He was "accredited to Her Majesty's Government as a gentleman possessing the confidence of the Canadian Government with whom Her Majesty's Government may properly communicate on Canadian affairs." Among the things on which he was specifically instructed to get into touch with the imperial government were: relations between the Dominion and the United States on such matters as trade, fisheries, and navigation; the transmission of mails to and from the United States by Canadian steamers and through Canada; the admission of Prince Edward Island into the Dominion; the modification of the law of copyright; the promotion of emigration; the negotiation of the loan of £300,000 sterling, on the guarantee of the imperial government, for the payment to the Hudson's Bay Company in connection with the transfer of the territories; a report on the control of the treasury in England over public money with a view to effecting improvements in the Canadian system; the floating of various loans and the sale or other disposition of various stocks and public securities; and any other matter which might be from time to time referred to him. In financial matters he was to co-operate closely with Messrs. Baring and Glyn, the Dominion financial agents in London.

Rose entered upon his new work with zest. By October 20, 1869, he was in touch with Sir Stafford Northcote and Sir Curtis Lampson of the Hudson's Bay Company, and arranging an immediate meeting with the treasury on the matter of the £300,000 loan. Already, too, in an unobtrusive but effective way he was beginning a career as a missionary of empire in an England in which there was still a *laissez-faire* indifference to the colonies and often a positive hostility to them as an unprofitable burden on the mother land. "I really hope to do a little good here", he wrote to Macdonald, "having already been asked to coach a couple of M.P.'s who are about addressing their constituencies on the Colonial Question and who seemed to have received an impression that Canada is preying on the vitals of England."<sup>3</sup>

This sort of action behind the scenes of politics was characteristic of Rose's entire post-Canadian career. Partly, perhaps, for

<sup>1</sup>M.P., *Cor. Rose 1864-74*, 114, Rose to Macdonald, Sept. 27, 1869.

<sup>2</sup>M.P., *Cor. Rose 1875-87*, 4-14.

<sup>3</sup>M.P., *Cor. Rose 1864-74*, 117, Rose to Macdonald, Oct. 20, 1869.

business reasons, he avoided entanglement in British party politics. Until 1880, also, his quasi-diplomatic position as informal agent of Canada made it incumbent upon him to preserve a strict neutrality. Beyond this, however, was the fact that he was not a strong party man. At a later date, when urged to stand for parliament, he confessed to his friend, Sir John Macdonald, that he refrained partly because he could not decide which party he should join. This detachment enabled Rose to urge more effectively with both parties the imperial cause which he had very strongly at heart. He was, also, employed the more readily on a variety of royal commissions relating to imperial and foreign affairs, and was able to become the informal adviser of successive colonial ministers in regard to Canada.<sup>1</sup> Indeed, in an informal and social way, he was able at times to make his influence felt in still more powerful quarters. "Very many thanks for your letting me read your interesting letter to Lord Lisgar", he writes to Macdonald. "It puts me now *au fait* at the political situation, and came in time, as Gladstone was staying at Ellice's, and I could tell him on your authority how matters really stood."<sup>2</sup>

Naturally one of Rose's major interests in the opening years of his informal political agency had to do with various aspects of the taking over and development of the north-west. In making arrangements for the £300,000 payment to the Hudson's Bay Company, he met with the cordial co-operation of the imperial authorities.<sup>3</sup> With the development of rebellion on the Red River, the actual payment, on Macdonald's instructions, was deferred in order to lessen the force of the argument of the opposition that Canada was being committed to a huge debt "for the privilege of buying a bloody war."<sup>4</sup> Rose smoothed the way for the Company's acquiescence in this deferment,<sup>5</sup> and the payment was finally made on instructions of May 3, 1870.

The situation which followed, involving the transfer of a huge territory from the Hudson's Bay Company through the hands of Great Britain to Canada, was an extremely critical one in view of the armed opposition on the Red River and the very real peril of American annexationist activity in the background. The pre-

<sup>1</sup>The *Globe*, Toronto, Aug. 27, 1888; *The Times*, London, Aug. 27, 1888.

<sup>2</sup>M.P., Cor. Rose 1864-74, 655, Rose to Macdonald, Sept. 20, 1872.

<sup>3</sup>Ibid., 132, Rose to Macdonald, Nov. 10, 1869.

<sup>4</sup>M.P., P.L.B., XIII, 758, Macdonald to Rose, Dec. 18, 1869.

<sup>5</sup>M.P., Cor. Rose 1864-74, 391, Rose to Macdonald, Jan. 5, 1870. Ibid., 416, same to same, Feb. 10, 1870.

sence of a capable and trusted Canadian agent in London here proved its value. Starting with November 16, 1869, when the first vague rumours of trouble in connection with McDougall's mission to the Red River country reached Sir John Macdonald, a steady stream of letters from him to Rose contained the latest information in Macdonald's possession, his most intimate views thereon, and instructions for his London agent. In these letters one can view the whole drama of the rebellion through the eyes of Sir John Macdonald, and the intimacy with which he unburdened his thoughts to his friend may be judged from a single extract. "Everything looks well", he wrote on February 23, 1870, "for a delegation coming to Ottawa including the redoubtable Riel. If we once get him here, as you know, he is a gone coon. There is no place in the ministry for him to sit next to Howe, but perhaps we may make him a Senator for the Territory."<sup>1</sup>

Rose was also in intimate relationship with the Hudson's Bay Company and the British authorities. Within two days of his arrival in London, Rose was invited to become a member of the committee of the company with a view to promoting harmony of action with Canada in the north-west.<sup>2</sup> The Canadian government, however, feared that, until the transfer had actually taken place, such a connection would injure Rose's status as representative of Canada by enabling the opposition to raise the cry that he was acting in the company's interests.<sup>3</sup> Accordingly, two years elapsed before Rose, upon renewed and urgent invitation, became a member of the committee, with the acquiescence of the Canadian government, and on the express understanding that, in his own words, "if at any time I find they are pursuing a policy which you in Canada may disapprove of, I may resign."<sup>4</sup> In the interval, however, Rose's friendly relations and constant touch with the leading members of the committee enabled him to play a useful part as intermediary. As for the happiness and value of Rose's relations with the imperial authorities in the trying situation of 1869-70, we have the two-fold evidence of the K.C.M.G. conferred upon him in January, 1870,<sup>5</sup> and the warm tribute of

<sup>1</sup>M.P., P.L.B., XIV, 24, Macdonald to Rose, Feb. 23, 1870.

<sup>2</sup>M.P., Cor. Rose 1864-74, 125, Rose to Macdonald, Oct. 22, 1869.

<sup>3</sup>M.P., P.L.B., XIII, 438, Macdonald to Rose, Nov. 16, 1869. *Ibid.*, 610, same to same, Nov. 27, 1869.

<sup>4</sup>M.P., Cor. Rose 1864-74, 533, Rose to Macdonald, Sept. 27, 1871. *Ibid.*, 539, same to same, Nov. 10, 1871.

<sup>5</sup>*Ibid.*, 402, Rose to Macdonald, Jan. 20, 1870.

the colonial secretary, Lord Granville, in March of the same year: "The presence of Sir John Rose here has been of great use and comfort to me. It is impossible to have an abler or more pleasant man with whom to transact business."<sup>1</sup>

The story of the Red River Rebellion has often been told, and it is not here desired in any way to repeat it, but simply to note without detail the part played in it by a distant actor. Rose early informed the Canadian government that it was the wish of both the colonial office and the company to put through the titular transfer, and to leave to Canada the responsibility of getting control of her new possession in the teeth of rebellion.<sup>2</sup> Sir John Macdonald, however, on the first news of disorder, had informed Lord Granville by cable that Canada would decline to accept transfer of a territory in a state of revolt, and, in his letters to Rose, he presented the case of Canada in detail, in order that Rose might personally urge it on the two authorities concerned in the mother land. Repudiating the view that Canada was solely responsible, and early envisaging the probable necessity of a military expedition, Sir John instructed Rose "to enter into discussions with the Colonial Office and the Company as to what they will do in case of the necessity of sending Troops, in the spring, to Fort Garry."<sup>3</sup> The urgency of this task was made all the greater by the fact that in the crisis the annexationist sentiment, which was endemic throughout the United States, mastered the government itself and actually caused Fish, the American secretary of state, to approach Sir Edward Thornton, the British ambassador, with the suggestion of popular plebiscites in Canada on the question of union with the republic. This was an action which, as Sir John Macdonald perceived, made extremely desirable a striking demonstration of solidarity between Britain and Canada such as a joint military expedition would be. To Rose he wrote:

It is of great importance that a part of the Force should be regular troops, as it will convince the United States Government and people that Her Majesty's Government have no intention of abandoning this Continent. It has got to be a fixed idea at Washington that England wants to get rid of the Colonies, indeed Mr. Fish has not hesitated to say so. I may mention to you in entire confidence that Fish had the impudence to ask Thornton to ascertain whether Her Majesty's Government would offer any objection to a free vote being

<sup>1</sup>Pope, *Memoirs of Sir John Alexander Macdonald*, II, 66.

<sup>2</sup>Ibid., II, 55f.

<sup>3</sup>M.P., P.L.B., XIII, 756, Macdonald to Rose, Dec. 18, 1869.

taken in Canada, or in any portions of it, whether the people desire to join the United States or not, and stated his conviction that if the vote were taken a large majority, nine-tenths he said of the people, would vote for Annexation. He even went further and said that the refusal of Reciprocity was a legitimate mode of coercion, and that the United States Government had no intention of lowering the duties. This, after his communications with you, is simply a black-guard business. Thornton embodied this conversation in a despatch to Lord Clarendon and communicated confidentially to the Governor-General a copy of it. Council has made an indignant minute on the subject, which, being also confidential, will never see the light, but we walked into Fish at the rate of a hunt.<sup>1</sup>

After some delay, due first to the absence and later to the illness<sup>2</sup> of Lord Granville, Rose was able on February 22, to cable to Sir John that the British government would co-operate in the expedition to the Red River,<sup>3</sup> and he was later actively in conference with the colonial secretary, Lord Granville, and the Right Honourable Edward Cardwell, secretary of state for war, in arranging the details of the enterprise.<sup>4</sup> He was also intermediary in arranging that Sir Stafford Northcote, governor of the Hudson's Bay Company, should proceed to Canada to be immediately available for co-operation of any kind and particularly for ready consultation by the forthcoming conference between the Dominion government and the three delegates from the Red River population.<sup>5</sup> In these services, Rose fully demonstrated the utility of a permanent Canadian agency of some kind in London, and played a part of some importance in tiding over a crisis that contained possibilities of the gravest international complications.

The Red River episode, however, was only one aspect of a many-sided crisis between the British Empire and the United States after the Civil War, a crisis which was to meet a general settlement in the Washington treaty of 1871 and the various arbitral proceedings for which it arranged. In that consummation Canada's agent in England played a part of major importance. Indeed, Rose began to be active in the general Anglo-American

<sup>1</sup>*Ibid.*, 960, Macdonald to Rose, Jan. 26, 1870.

<sup>2</sup>*M.P.*, *Cor. Rose 1864-74*, 398, Rose to Macdonald, Jan. 13, 1870. *Ibid.*, 420, same to same, Feb. 12, 1870.

<sup>3</sup>*M.P.*, *P.L.B.*, XIV, 24, Macdonald to Rose, Feb. 23, 1870.

<sup>4</sup>*M.P.*, *Cor. Rose 1864-74*, 453, Rose to Macdonald, March 17, 1870.

<sup>5</sup>*Ibid.*, 443, Rose to Macdonald, March 12, 1870. *Ibid.*, 453, same to same, March 17, 1870. *Ibid.*, 457, cable same to same, March 18, 1870.

problem before he went to England. On April 13, 1869, the American senate had rejected the painfully negotiated Johnson-Clarendon convention providing for the arbitration of Civil War claims. This action, together with the jingoistic and extravagant claims for damages put forward on that occasion by Charles Sumner, chairman of the committee of the senate on foreign relations, left public opinion in both countries in a highly inflamed condition. Statesmen on both sides, however, were willing behind the scenes to gather up again the disrupted threads of their diplomacy, and, as early as July 8, Rose, who, as Canadian minister of finance, had been endeavouring to establish more liberal Canadian-American trade relations in Washington,<sup>1</sup> through the good offices of Caleb Cushing, got into touch with Secretary Fish on the general question of the Civil War claims against Great Britain. "The first of the interviews which led up to the Treaty of Washington two years later", says Adams, "took place at Mr. Fish's dinner table." There in an informal and friendly way the two men discussed the situation and outlined the basis of a settlement and the method of procedure by special joint commission which was later adopted.<sup>2</sup>

It was, however, the opinion of Fish that some time must elapse in order to let popular passions cool, before any further overt steps towards a settlement would have a chance of success. Meanwhile, Rose went to England, where he continued to play the rôle of informal intermediary between the two governments, keeping in touch with Fish by letter and quietly making known in influential quarters in Britain the American secretary's views—a function which the American ambassador, Motley, failed to perform as he reflected the extremist attitude of Sumner rather than the moderate one of Fish.<sup>3</sup> Finally, in December, 1870, partly owing to Rose's activities and partly to the troubled European situation which made differences with the United States doubly dangerous, Granville, with the assent of the queen and Gladstone, despatched Rose on a confidential mission to see if American conditions were not ripe for setting things in motion towards a settlement.<sup>4</sup>

The confidence thus placed in Rose was justified by the event. He arrived in Washington on January 9, 1871, and by the end of the month, as the result of a series of delicate negotiations, an

<sup>1</sup>Ibid., 68, Rose to Macdonald, June 8, 1869.

<sup>2</sup>Adams, *With Lee at Appomattox*, 122.

<sup>3</sup>Ibid., 126. Davis, *Mr. Fish and the Alabama claims*, 46.

<sup>4</sup>E. G. P. Fitzmaurice, *Life of Lord Granville* (London, 1906), II, 29.

accord was reached between the two governments as to the appointment of a joint high commission.<sup>1</sup> Had it not been for the circumstance that at this moment Rose's firm became engaged in the flotation of a large American government loan,<sup>2</sup> there is no doubt that his services would have been further employed on the commission itself. In answer to an inquiry from the colonial office as to whether Rose would be a suitable representative for Canada, Sir John Macdonald replied<sup>3</sup> that the fact that he was not a Canadian by birth, that his permanent residence was now in England, and that he was a partner in an American banking firm, would make him unacceptable to the Canadian people as their representative. "I need scarcely say", he added, "that personally I have every confidence in him and would like no better colleague to fight Canada's battle on the Commission. . . . He might very well, however, be selected as one of the Commissioners to be appointed by England." These sentiments were shared by Macdonald's colleagues.<sup>4</sup> Rose himself would have liked to serve, but reflection showed him the ambiguity of the position in which the financial dealings of his firm with the American government would place him. "I am sure", he wrote, "that it was better for the public interest that I should not act on the Commission, although my friends here have expressed some disappointment at my declining."<sup>5</sup> Though circumstances thus deprived Rose of the honour of sitting on the commission, the value of the services he had already performed was handsomely recognized by Lord Granville both in private and publicly in the house of lords. They were recognized, too, by his being created a baronet of the United Kingdom in 1872 under the title of Sir John Rose of Montreal.<sup>6</sup> It has been a custom of late years for public speakers to stress the

<sup>1</sup>The best account of this whole episode is in John Bassett Moore, *History and digest of the international arbitrations to which the United States has been a party* (Washington, 1898), I, chaps. 14-16. See also Lord Morley's *Life of Gladstone* (London, 1911), II, 305.

<sup>2</sup>The following letters in the *Baring papers* throw light on this situation, but as they were in process of arrangement at the Archives only the dates can be cited: Rose to Baring, Feb. 6, 1871; Rose to Morton, Feb. 3, 1871; Samuel G. Ward to Messrs. Baring, Feb. 10 and 14, 1871.

<sup>3</sup>M.P., W. tr., 1871, I, 281, Kimberley to Lisgar, cable, Feb. 1, 1871. Ibid., 286, Macdonald to Lisgar, Feb. 4, 1871.

<sup>4</sup>M.P., P.L.B., XV, 350, Macdonald to Rose, Feb. 22, 1871.

<sup>5</sup>M.P., Cor. Rose 1864-74, 501, Rose to Macdonald, March 16, 1871.

<sup>6</sup>Fitzmaurice, *Granville*, II, 85; *The Times*, London, June 13, 1871, and Aug. 27, 1888.

importance of the part which Canada can play as interpreter between the mother land and the United States. Seldom has the rôle been assumed with happier consequences than in the critical years from 1869 to 1871 through the instrumentality of Rose.

Rose's activities in Washington, of course, had been as the representative of the imperial rather than of the Canadian government; but, in the many months of critical negotiations which followed, he continued to prove himself a useful agent of the latter. The handiwork of the joint high commission possessed in the eyes of most Canadians two outstanding defects; the Fenian raid claims of Canada had not even been considered, and the *quid pro quo* for American participation in the Canadian fisheries was deemed unsatisfactory. Sir John Macdonald himself felt keenly that in both these respects Canada had been called on to make marked sacrifices on behalf of the Empire;<sup>1</sup> and he feared that, unless the imperial government offered Canada compensations of some kind, the fishery clauses of the treaty would not be ratified by the Canadian parliament. He wrote:

Canada feels very sore about the Fenian claims which were withdrawn to suit imperial interests. Practically she has now no remedy against the United States, and unless the Home Government takes some favorable action by the time our Parliament meets in February, in the matter, I would not give much for the chances of the Treaty.<sup>2</sup>

If Canada, however, should fail to ratify the fishing clauses of the treaty there was danger of the entire treaty falling to the ground, as the Americans throughout had insisted on a settlement of all disputes or none. The collapse of the treaty in turn would have consequences incalculably grave for the future relations of Great Britain and the United States and for those of Canada with both. Thus one of the crises of the situation became the securing of such compensation from Britain to Canada as would assuage Canadian resentment and ease the passage of the fishery articles through the Canadian parliament.

In the achievement of this, Rose was again an active factor. As early as April 16, 1871, at Washington, Lord de Grey, head of the British commission, had promised for the British government the payment of a money compensation for the Fenian claims. Sir John had asked for a guarantee of a loan for the proposed Canadian Pacific Railway, but Grey had assured him that neither Glad-

<sup>1</sup>M.P., P.L.B., XV, 798, Macdonald to Rose, May 11, 1871.

<sup>2</sup>Ibid., XVI, 518, Macdonald to Rose, Nov. 30, 1871.

stone nor the house of commons would assent to a guarantee for any purpose whatever.<sup>1</sup> However, the Canadian government returned to the charge, and in a minute of the privy council, forwarded by Lord Lisgar to the colonial office on January 22, 1872,<sup>2</sup> the guarantee of a loan for canals and a transcontinental railway, not to exceed £4,000,000 in amount, was definitely asked for. The negotiation of such a guarantee was a matter of some delicacy. About a month before the action of the council, Sir Francis Hincks, Canadian finance minister, had written to Rose regarding a guarantee, and on January 8, Rose wrote to Macdonald<sup>3</sup> that, at the moment, with deadlock over the Alabama claims at Geneva and the whole treaty in jeopardy, it was difficult to get men to talk about the guarantee. But he added: "A few days must work a solution of the affair, and then I will—discreetly of course—get the permanent officials to press on the application." On February 3, he reported that he had been impressing on the British authorities the difficulties of Macdonald's position over the treaty, and on February 8, he wrote:<sup>4</sup>

I have had several opportunities of accidental conversation with some members of the Government and with the permanent officers at the Colonial Office in reference to the application for a guarantee, and am very glad to say that it is received in a much more friendly spirit than I supposed it would have been. . . . There seemed to be a doubt in some quarters whether if the application were acceded to the whole power of your Government would be used to support the Treaty, and I ventured to say that every exertion that could be expected from any ministry would be made in good faith and in a loyal spirit.

Again, on February 29, he enclosed for Macdonald a printed memorandum on the Fenian claims, which he had been active in preparing for the British government. Marked "confidential", it is an admirable statement of the facts of the case, calculated to make clear the magnitude of the concession made by Britain in not insisting on the Fenian claims, and, therefore, calculated indirectly to stress the justice and the magnitude of the Canadian

<sup>1</sup>Pope, *Memoirs of Sir John Alexander Macdonald*, II, 113.

<sup>2</sup>*Canada 1866-73, Parliamentary papers* (London), C-539, no. 10 and enclosure, Lisgar to Kimberley, Jan. 22, 1872.

<sup>3</sup>*M.P., P.L.B.*, XVI, 691, Macdonald to Rose, Dec. 28, 1871. *Cor. Rose 1864-74*, 592, Rose to Macdonald, Jan. 8, 1872.

<sup>4</sup>*Ibid.*, 583, Rose to Macdonald, Feb. 3, 1872; *M.P., W.tr. 1871*, I, 559, sub-pages 4 and 5, Rose to Macdonald, Feb. 8, 1872.

claim to compensation at the hands of Britain.<sup>1</sup> Owing, however, to the prolonged deadlock over the Alabama claims at Geneva, it was not until March 18, that the British government finally agreed to a guarantee of £2,500,000, conditional on the ratification of the treaty and the abandonment of the Fenian claims.<sup>2</sup> This was a concession which greatly aided the passage of the fishery articles of the treaty through the Canadian commons in May, 1872. In obtaining it, Sir John Rose had been, though carefully behind the scenes, a contributory factor, thus helping again to ease the general Anglo-American tension. Throughout this whole episode, also, and till the crisis at Geneva was passed in June, 1872, Rose, by a stream of letters, telegrams, and press clippings of editorials and parliamentary debates, had kept Sir John Macdonald in intimate touch with the general trend of public opinion and with important developments in governmental circles in the mother land.

Although the relations of Canada and Britain with the United States tended to be the central pre-occupation of Rose's first years in London, he had many other irons in the fire. A number of these had to do with the problems which emerged in the northwest with the subsidence of the Red River trouble. Quite early in that episode the authorities at Ottawa began to plan the establishment of a force of mounted police. As early as December 5, 1869, Macdonald wrote to Rose:<sup>3</sup>

Captain Cameron will also form a body of mounted Police, and it is hoped, will be able to employ the services in that Corps, of some of the French half-breeds. You need not be surprised to see Riel, the Secretary of the Convention, one of his officers.

Later, on February 23, 1870, he wrote:

The reason why I telegraphed you about the organization of the Irish constabulary is that we propose to organize a Mounted Police Force, under the command of Captain Cameron, for Red River purposes. We must never subject the Government there to the humiliations offered to McTavish. These impulsive Half-breeds have got spoilt by the émeute and must be kept down by a strong hand until they are swamped by the influx of settlers.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup>*Ibid.*, 559, sub-page 30, Rose to Macdonald, Feb. 29, 1872.

<sup>2</sup>*Canada 1866-1873, Parliamentary papers* (London), C-539, no. 11, Kimberley to Lisgar, March 18, 1872.

<sup>3</sup>*M.P., P.L.B.*, XIII, 646.

<sup>4</sup>*Ibid.*, XIV, 24.

By dint of repeated visits to the Irish office, Rose secured and forwarded to Ottawa, in successive instalments as it was collected, the information with regard to the Royal Irish Constabulary which was thus desired for guidance in the formation of the North-West Mounted Police.<sup>1</sup> A little later in the same year, he was busy editing for the colonial office the return to parliament of papers connected with Rupert's Land, reducing them by one-half through the omission of those calculated to raise controversy or place individuals in a false position.<sup>2</sup> Later, in 1871, Rose accepted appointment to the committee of the Hudson's Bay Company "mainly with the object of seeing that the Company's affairs were worked as much in harmony with Canadian interests as could be done."<sup>3</sup> First as a member of the committee and later as deputy-governor from 1880 to 1888, he was able in a variety of ways to do this, he and Sir John Macdonald keeping in confidential touch with each other.<sup>4</sup> In obedience to his instructions, also, Rose was active in the promotion of emigration, his aid being invoked by the Canadian agents in England in any matters of special importance.<sup>5</sup> Beginning in May, 1871, communications were frequent between Rose and Macdonald with respect to the proposed Canadian transcontinental railway, Macdonald telling Rose the inside story of the developments in Canada,<sup>6</sup> and Rose keeping Macdonald informed with respect to pertinent financial and press views in London. From March to June, 1873, Rose was busy assisting Hugh Allan, John Abbott, and John Walker in endeavours to finance the undertaking with British and continental capital, activities which were interrupted by the Pacific Scandal and the advent of a new government to power in Canada.<sup>7</sup>

Although it is possible to bring a sort of unity into some of Rose's activities by relating them as above to general problems

<sup>1</sup>M.P., *Cor. Rose 1864-74*, 414 ff, Rose to Macdonald, two letters, Feb. 10, 1870. *Ibid.*, 420, same to same, Feb. 12, 1870. *Ibid.*, 439, same to same, Feb. 26, 1870.

<sup>2</sup>*Ibid.*, 465, Rose to Macdonald, Aug. 18, 1871.

<sup>3</sup>M.P., *Cor. Rose 1875-87*, 501, Rose to Macdonald, Dec. 1, 1883.

<sup>4</sup>M.P., *Cor. Rose 1864-74*, 577, Rose to Macdonald, Feb. 1, 1872. *Ibid.*, 680, same to same, April 2, 1872. Also M.P., *Cor. Rose 1875-87*, 77, same to same, Feb. 10, 1879. *Ibid.*, 89, March 13, 1879. *Ibid.*, 221, Dec. 5, 1880.

<sup>5</sup>J. G. Colmer, C.M.G., secretary to the high commissioner's office, writing in J. Castell Hopkins, *Canada, an encyclopaedia of the country* (Toronto, 1898-1900), VI, 32.

<sup>6</sup>Especially revealing are the letters of Macdonald to Rose of Oct. 18, 1872, M.P., P.L.B., XVIII, 731, and of Oct. 24, 1872, quoted in Pope, *Memoirs of Sir John Alexander Macdonald*, II, 189.

<sup>7</sup>M.P., *Cor. Rose 1864-74*, 684, Rose to Macdonald, April 5, 1873. *Ibid.*, 689, same to same, May 1, 1873. *Ibid.*, 736, July 24, 1873.

such as Anglo-American relationships and the development of the north-west, yet, as a whole, their variety is too great to permit of any simple classification. Perhaps an idea of them can best be given by a mere enumeration, with little attempt at arrangement, of some of the additional things, some trivial and some weighty, with which Rose, during these years, was concerning himself. Thus, in November, 1869, he was taking steps to see that Queen Victoria should receive her gold Confederation medal prior to the general distribution of the medals in Canada. At the same time, pursuant to his instructions, he was endeavouring to obtain modifications favourable to Canada in the existing law of copyright, and, in 1875, he served on the royal commission on copyright.<sup>1</sup> In the autumn of the same year, in conjunction with the Honourable Alexander Campbell, postmaster-general, then in Europe, he was urging the case of Canada for receiving British co-operation in subsidizing the transatlantic mail service by the Allan Line.<sup>2</sup> In February, 1870, apropos of the pending British Education Bill, he sent to Canada for the best information in compendious form on the educational system of Ontario. "Forster", he wrote, "is particularly anxious to have it before his bill goes into committee."<sup>3</sup> In the spring of the same year, after numerous interviews with the officials of the admiralty, Rose was instrumental in arranging for strong support by the royal navy for the enforcement of the newly adopted Canadian policy of the total exclusion of American fishing vessels from all Canadian territorial waters except those permitted to them under the Convention of 1818.<sup>4</sup> Three years later, Rose conducted another protracted, and in this case unsuccessful, negotiation with the admiralty to secure for the terminus of the Inter-colonial Railway at Halifax a strip of land from the naval dockyard there.<sup>5</sup> During these years, also, Rose's abilities in finance, his friendly relations with Messrs. Baring and Glyn, the financial

<sup>1</sup>*Ibid.*, 151, Rose to Macdonald, Nov. 17, 1869. *The Globe*, Toronto, Aug. 27, 1888.

<sup>2</sup>*M.P., Cor. Rose 1864-74*, 132, Rose to Macdonald, Nov. 10, 1869. *Ibid.*, 157, Rose to Hon. Alexander Campbell, Nov. 12, 1869. *Ibid.*, 151, Rose to Macdonald, Nov. 17, 1869. Also *M.P., P.L.B.*, XIII, 756, Macdonald to Rose, Dec. 18, 1869. *Ibid.*, 833, same to same, Dec. 31, 1869.

<sup>3</sup>*M.P., Cor. Rose 1864-74*, 439, Rose to Macdonald, Feb. 26, 1870.

<sup>4</sup>*M.P., P.L.B.*, XIII, 930-a, Macdonald to Rose, Jan. 21, 1870. *Ibid.*, XIV, 41, same to same, March 11, 1870. Also *M.P., Cor. Rose 1864-74*, 435, Hugh C. E. Childers to Rose, Feb. 23, 1870.

<sup>5</sup>*M.P., P.L.B.*, XIX, 897, Macdonald to Rose, Feb. 28, 1873. Also *M.P., Cor. Rose 1864-74*, 684-706, Rose to Macdonald, April 5 and May 1, 1873; G. Shaw Lefevre to Rose, April 28, 1873; the admiralty to the colonial office, May 13, 1873.

agents for Canada, and his close business touch with the London and continental money markets, made him especially useful to the Canadian government in financial matters. He was in frequent communication, not only with Macdonald, but also with Hincks, his own successor as minister of finance, and among the financial tasks, in which he actively assisted during this period, were the securing of the new Canadian coinage from the royal mint,<sup>1</sup> the floating of an additional instalment of the intercolonial loan,<sup>2</sup> and arrangements with the British treasury and Messrs. Baring and Glyn with respect to the securities to be made applicable to the sinking fund.<sup>3</sup> Rose also gave a good deal of advice with regard to the money market and financing generally, and, in 1872, he undertook for Sir John Macdonald a rather ticklish investigation into the manner in which secret service funds were handled in Britain. "I was rather roughly answered", he wrote, "by one gentleman (a personal friend) who disburses a good deal, and he said that he would answer no question whatever about secret service money—not even to a Cabinet Minister."<sup>4</sup> Throughout his whole career in Britain, also, Rose was on the alert to deal with any unfairness in the British press towards Canada and its government. At the height of the fisheries controversy with the United States, he wrote to Macdonald: "I have been trying to keep the press right on this matter and I think I have done some good in that way."<sup>5</sup> Again, at the time of the inquiry of the royal commission into the Pacific Scandal, he wrote: "I went to see Delane<sup>6</sup> and some friends connected with the 'Telegraph' and the 'Daily News' and asked them to suspend any further criticism until the whole of the evidence and the Report of the Commission could be got . . . to which they assented."<sup>7</sup> Throughout Rose was, also, a staunch advocate of every possible strengthening of the bonds of Empire. Few better examples can be found of the beginnings of that imperialist tide which was to flow so strongly in the last quarter of the nineteenth century than the letters which in January,

<sup>1</sup>M.P., *Cor. Rose 1864-74*, 406, Rose to Macdonald, Jan. 20, 1870. *Ibid.*, 468, same to same, Sept. 22, 1870. *Ibid.*, 509, Rose to Hincks, March, 1871.

<sup>2</sup>M.P., *Cor. Rose 1864-74*, 395, Rose to Macdonald, Jan. 6, 1870. *Ibid.*, 509, Rose to Hincks, March, 1871.

<sup>3</sup>*Ibid.*, 132, Rose to Macdonald, Nov. 10, 1869. *Ibid.*, 509, Rose to Hincks, March, 1871.

<sup>4</sup>*Ibid.*, 659, Rose to Macdonald, Sept. 26, 1872.

<sup>5</sup>*Ibid.*, 485, Rose to Macdonald, Dec. 10, 1870.

<sup>6</sup>Editor of *The Times*, London, 1841-1877.

<sup>7</sup>M.P., *Cor. Rose 1864-74*, 741, Rose to Macdonald, Oct. 16, 1873.

1870, he contributed under the pseudonym of "Colonist" to *The Times*.<sup>1</sup>

Though detailed evidence is lacking, it is clear that, during the Liberal régime of the Honourable Alexander Mackenzie, from 1873 to 1878, Rose continued to serve the Canadian government in varied matters, mostly financial. By order-in-council of February 18, 1875, he was authorized to act in conjunction with Lord Wolverton as trustee for the management and investment of the sinking fund to be created in connection with the imperial government loan negotiated in that year.<sup>2</sup> He acted in a similar capacity for the loan of 1876.<sup>3</sup> By another order-in-council of March 5, 1875, the position of "Financial Commissioner for the Dominion of Canada" was created, the commissioner to be resident in London and to assist the finance minister in the sale and conversion of securities, working particularly towards a consolidation of the entire debt of Canada, then bearing interest at several different rates.<sup>4</sup> To this position Rose was appointed, the Honourable Richard Cartwright, minister of finance, entering into immediate correspondence with him with respect to his duties.<sup>5</sup> Again on October 2, 1875, the government confirmed Rose's status and duties as defined in the memorandum of September 30, 1869. A little later Cartwright communicated detailed instructions.<sup>6</sup> These are mostly financial, but not wholly so. "It is desired", they run in part, "that you continue as heretofore to communicate with the Treasury and all other Departments of Her Majesty's Government from time to time in relation to financial or any matters that may be entrusted to you." As before, at Rose's request, no fixed salary was attached to the position, but he was to be reimbursed for expenses, "and a commission was to be paid corresponding to the nature and extent of the transactions in accordance with usage in such matters."

With the return of Sir John Macdonald to power in the autumn of 1878, the correspondence between him and Rose shows the latter busy as before on a variety of activities as the informal representative of Canada. It must be remembered, however,

<sup>1</sup>*The Times*, London, Jan. 18, 19, 20, 1871. Rose's letter to Macdonald of Jan. 20, 1871, leaves no doubt of their authorship (*M.P., Cor. Rose 1864-74*, 402).

<sup>2</sup>*M.P., Cor. Rose 1875-87*, 32.

<sup>3</sup>Order-in-council, Oct. 25, 1876.

<sup>4</sup>*M.P., Cor. Rose 1875-87*, 16.

<sup>5</sup>*Ibid.*, 21, Cartwright to Rose, March 8, 1875.

<sup>6</sup>Order-in-council, Oct. 2, 1875. *M.P., Cor. Rose 1875-87*, 27, Cartwright to Rose, Dec. 9, 1875.

that these activities were additional to the many pre-occupations of a successful "City" man, and with the quickening rhythm of Canadian development it was inevitable that the time would come when the Dominion would require a formal representative in London, who would devote his undivided energies to its affairs.<sup>1</sup> The opening sentences of Rose's letter to Macdonald, quoted near the beginning of this paper, in which Rose asked for appointment as Canada's agent in London, seem clearly to indicate that, as early as 1869, Macdonald contemplated the possibility of representation of a formal character. Only an informal agency, however, could be combined by Rose with the business activities which were the main cause of his going to Britain, and Rose's claims on the party, his friendship with Macdonald, and his undoubted qualifications, may have been important factors in keeping the agency informal for a decade. By midsummer, 1879, however, Macdonald had come to the conclusion that the appointment of a formal representative could in the best interests of Canada no longer be delayed, and the post was offered to Sir Alexander Galt.<sup>2</sup>

The resultant necessity of superseding Rose was a matter of some delicacy. During his brief visit to England in August and September, 1879, Macdonald personally informed him of the impending change, and the situation was eased by the good part in which Rose accepted it. Writing to Macdonald on November 2, 1879, he says:<sup>3</sup>

I have deferred for some days replying to your letter of the 11th October—wishing to consider how the changes you foreshadow can best be made to work. Let me say at the outset, how much I appreciate the friendly and unreserved terms in which you write, and repeat, what I told you—that if the continuance of my past relations is incompatible with such new arrangements as the public interest may require, I do not ask that consideration personal to me, shall stand in the way. When you first broached in our conversation at Loseley<sup>4</sup> the idea of a Canadian Diplomatic Resident in England,

<sup>1</sup>The reasons for establishing a formal high commissionership are excellently treated in O. D. Skelton, *Life and times of Sir A. T. Galt* (Toronto, 1920), chap. XVII. They are also vigorously set forth in the memorandum, prepared by Galt and signed by Macdonald, Tilley, and Tupper, which was submitted to the British government in August, 1879 (*M.P., Cor. Galt 1859-79*, 420 and 437). See also the speeches of Macdonald and Tilley on the bill establishing the high commissionership, *Debates of the house of commons, Canada* (1880), II, 1857 ff.

<sup>2</sup>*M.P., Cor. Galt 1859-79*, 312, Galt to Macdonald, July 14, 1879.

<sup>3</sup>*M.P., Cor. Rose 1875-87*, 142, Rose to Macdonald, Nov. 2, 1879.

<sup>4</sup>Loseley Park, Sir John Rose's home near Guildford, Surrey.

and I saw what was in your mind, I felt that the initiative of relieving you from any embarrassment arising from causes personal to me should come from my side:—hence my journey from Scotland. You did not, however, I hope, infer that I did not value the connection I had had with Canadian matters since I came here. I have on the contrary esteemed it *very highly*. . . . I can therefore but repeat, that (though I will not be guilty of the affectation of saying I shall not feel regret)—I will submit to the immolation without umbrage, or resentment,—and with the sincere desire to accommodate myself to the new order of things you may find it necessary to establish, and exercise with as much heartiness, as in the past, any means of usefulness my connection here may have given me.

The transition was somewhat smoothed for Rose by the retention of his financial services, active and consultative, in a variety of matters. In this capacity he bore the title of special finance commissioner and was to act on instructions through and in conjunction with the high commissioner.<sup>1</sup>

Between Rose and Galt there were certain incompatibilities. While Rose admitted that Galt was "suggestive" and "brilliant", he also considered him "unstable and erratic",<sup>2</sup> and, indeed, Galt on conspicuous occasions was lacking in that tact and finesse in which Rose excelled, and which the diplomatic duties of high commissioner demanded. Galt, for his part, distrusted Rose's disinterestedness, suspecting him of receiving large commissions for government purchases and loans which could be more economically handled through the high commissioner's office<sup>3</sup>—a suspicion that seemed to receive confirmation later from a somewhat lively debate in the house of commons on May 27, 1887,<sup>4</sup> in which the opposition challenged certain commissions that had been paid to Rose for the flotation and renewal of loans, and the government was constrained to admit that it had found possible the elimination of these charges by acting directly through the high commissioner. There is no doubt that Rose benefited financially from his relations with the Canadian government, but there is nothing necessarily discreditable in this, for successive governments of opposite parties found his services valuable. As Confederation gained stability and Canadian credit improved, however, the services of intermediaries would naturally become less

<sup>1</sup>M.P., *Cor. Galt 1880*, 174, draft of instructions to Galt as high commissioner.

<sup>2</sup>M.P., *Cor. Rose 1875-87*, 381, Rose to Macdonald, April 11, 1883.

<sup>3</sup>M.P., *Cor. Galt 1880*, 216, Galt to Macdonald, June 5, 1880.

<sup>4</sup>*Debates of the house of commons, Canada (1887)*, I, 594.

necessary. In any case, despite the fact that neither Galt nor Rose cordially liked the other, the correspondence of both with Macdonald<sup>1</sup> seems to show that Rose, during Galt's term of office, fully lived up to the assurance which he had given Sir John:

I need not repeat that I will loyally do all I can to help Galt here—short of acting in a way that he may consider officious. . . . I am ready without qualification or reserve, to subordinate anything like regrets of my own, at the termination of my informal connection with Canadian affairs and with entire cordiality to give Galt advice and assistance where I can do so with delicacy and self-respect.<sup>2</sup>

In the case of Sir Charles Tupper, Galt's successor, co-operation was rendered easier by most friendly personal relations.<sup>3</sup>

The long terms of Tupper, 1883-1896, and of Strathcona, 1896-1911, placed on a stable basis the semi-diplomatic representation of Canada in Britain which Rose had informally begun, which Galt had formally inaugurated, and which in our own day is being expanded outside the Empire into an ambassadorial system of much the normal type. As for Sir John Rose, his supersession did not end his active interest in affairs touching Canada. He played a prominent rôle in the financing of the Canadian Pacific Railway. As deputy-governor of the Hudson's Bay Company, he was active in planning for the settlement and development of the north-west. As the friend of Sir John Macdonald and the authorities in Britain, he was still occasionally employed informally in negotiations between the two countries. He served on various royal commissions, among them the commissions for the Paris Exhibition of 1879, the Fisheries Exhibition of 1883, the Health Exhibition of 1884, and the Colonial Exhibition of 1886. For the latter he was chairman of the finance committee. He was created G.C.M.G. in 1878, and in 1886 was called to the privy council. Rose was the second Canadian to receive that honour, Sir John being the first.<sup>4</sup> His sudden death on August 24, 1888, while deer-shooting in Scotland, cut short a career that had been one of some distinction in both Canada and Great Britain.

MORDEN H. LONG

<sup>1</sup>*M.P.*, *Cor. Galt 1880*, 74, Galt to Macdonald, April 15, 1880. *Ibid.*, 82, same to same, April 21, 1880. *M.P.*, *Cor. Rose 1875-87*, 228, Rose to Macdonald, Feb. 4, 1881. *Ibid.*, 272, Rose to Tilley, March 15, 1881. *Ibid.*, Rose to Macdonald, Jan. 4, 1883.

<sup>2</sup>*Ibid.*, 176, Rose to Macdonald, May 7, 1880.

<sup>3</sup>*Ibid.*, 486, Rose to Macdonald, Sept. 6, 1883.

<sup>4</sup>The *Citizen*, Ottawa, July 9, 1886.

## NOTES AND DOCUMENTS

### THE OPENING OF THE NEW ARCHIVES BUILDING OF NOVA SCOTIA

ON January 14, an important public ceremony was held in the new Archives Building in Halifax, N.S., the lieutenant-governor, Hon. Frank Stanfield, presiding. The occasion was the presentation of the building to the province by W. H. Chase, Esq., of Wolfville, N.S., through whose splendid generosity it was recently erected on the campus of Dalhousie University. In tendering his gift to the premier, Col. the Hon. G. S. Harrington, Mr. Chase also gave him a golden key, which he hoped would "open to the people of this province a door to a broader vision and to a more extended knowledge." At the same time, he paid tribute to the Hon. E. N. Rhodes, who, in 1928 when he was premier, had suggested to Mr. Chase the idea which influenced him in making this gift. Mr. Rhodes introduced the legislation necessary for the establishment of the institution, and it was unanimously endorsed by the legislature.

According to the Act a board of trustees was appointed to superintend the building operations and to carry on the work afterwards. The board consists of the following: the lieutenant-governor, the chief justice, the premier, the leader of the opposition, the president of Dalhousie University, who are appointed *ex officio*; and, also, Dr. A. G. Doughty, Dominion archivist, and Dr. J. Clarence Webster, of Shédiac, N.B. The board is now engaged in furnishing the building, selecting a staff, and assembling the rich historical materials distributed in various offices of the government.

A survey of these records has recently been made for the trustees by Mr. Norman Fee, of the Public Archives, Ottawa, acting through the courtesy of the Dominion government. He reports that, in addition to the hundreds of bound volumes of manuscripts arranged by Dr. T. B. Akins many years ago, there is an enormous mass of documents, maps, plans, etc., of the greatest value. This scattered material will be placed in the new building, and the work of cleaning, sorting, binding, and indexing will be commenced, and will continue for years to come; for, after the collections in Halifax have been dealt with, levies will be

made in the counties of the province. In inaugurating the work of the Archives, the trustees intend to keep in view the utilization of its resources to foster the study of history among the students of the province, and, also, to develop a school of research. These ideals will doubtless be easier of attainment through the relations established with Dalhousie University. Just as the latter institution has made a material contribution in the shape of a site, lighting, and heating, so it will, doubtless, confer spiritual benefits which will stimulate the intellectual life of the Archives; and, reciprocally, the undergraduate and graduate life of the university will be influenced in a notable manner.

Reference should be made to the beautiful architectural features of the building, which was designed by Mr. Andrew Cobb. They have evoked universal approval, for they are a combination of simplicity, practical suitability, and beauty of proportions.

Nova Scotia now has the proud honour of possessing the first provincial archives building in Canada, and, in so doing, she has realized the ideals of her illustrious son, the Hon. Joseph Howe, as expressed in the following words:

A wise nation preserves its records, gathers up its muniments, repairs its great public structures, decorates the tombs of its illustrious dead, and fosters national pride and love of country by perpetual reference to the sacrifices and glories of the past.

J. C. WEBSTER

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SOME LETTERS OF PEEL AND STANLEY ON CANADIAN PROBLEMS,  
1841-1844

SIR ROBERT PEEL took no interest in Canadian questions till the Rebellion of 1837 compelled him, as leader of the opposition, to recognize this issue. As, indeed, in duty bound, he laid sins of commission and omission at the door of the government and joined in the hue and cry after the colonial secretary, Lord Glenelg. But, on the whole, Sir Robert Peel refused to look upon the situation in the Canadas as a major political problem. He was anxious that the Canadians should not be allowed to bring dishonour upon the crown and upon the Empire, but he had no remedies of his own to offer. The government's remedy, the Act of Union, Peel accepted as satisfactory, and he advocated this

measure to the extent of endangering his friendship with the Duke of Wellington.<sup>1</sup>

Lord Stanley, on the other hand, had appeared in 1828 as a champion of Canadian demands. At that time, he censured the attitude of the Church of England to the question of Clergy Reserves, criticized the legislative council of Lower Canada, and advised the government to enter into a noble rivalry with the United States in providing happy conditions for the settlers in British North America. They must not be given reasons for looking enviously across the border; on the contrary, they should have opportunities to glory in the name of England.<sup>2</sup> These enlightened views were modified by the time Stanley first received the seals as secretary of state for the colonies, 1833-34,<sup>3</sup> and in the crisis of 1837 he showed scant sympathy for Canadian radical opinion.<sup>4</sup> The election of 1841 brought Sir Robert Peel into office and into power, and Stanley resumed his former position of colonial secretary. Canada had not ceased to trouble. Peel and Stanley grappled with her problems during their entire term as colleagues in the government. With characteristic thoroughness, the prime minister began almost immediately to study the situation in Canada, and he kept in close touch with Stanley whenever a Canadian question came up for settlement. As a rule Lord Stanley knew his own mind on such matters, but this did not prevent him from seeking advice from his chief. Indeed, the latter's support was often indispensable in the cabinet in overcoming objections from the Duke of Wellington, who, on all colonial questions, remained a Tory of the old school.

<sup>1</sup>See speeches in the house of commons: May 25, 1830, *Hansard*, new series, XXIV, 1110; January 16, 17, 23, 26, 1838, *Hansard*, 3d series, XL, 65-80, 149-152, 446-462, 550-558; March 7, 1838, *ibid.*, XLI, 645-669; June 3, 1839, *ibid.*, XLVII, 1276-1282; July 4, 1839, *ibid.*, XLVIII, 1206-1208; July 11, 1839, *ibid.*, XLIX 159-172; April 13, 1840, *ibid.*, LII, 1063-1068; June 12 and 18, 1840, *ibid.*, LIV, 1119-1128, 1265-1267. C. S. Parker, *Sir Robert Peel from his private papers* (London, 1899), II, 355-357, 433-446.

<sup>2</sup>See speech in the house of commons, May 2, 1828, *Hansard*, new series, XIX, 336-339.

<sup>3</sup>See speech in the house of commons, April 15, 1834, *Hansard*, 3d series, XXII, 790-811.

<sup>4</sup>See speeches in the house of commons: January 26, March 6, and August 14, 1838, *ibid.*, XL, 588-590, XLI, 543-564, XLIV, 1229-1241. Lord Stanley supported the Union Act of 1840, but wished the control of the waste lands to remain in the hands of the crown and opposed the establishment of district councils in Canada. See speech in the house of commons June 12, 1840, *ibid.*, LIV, 1137-1143. Stanley to Peel, January 1, 1838; Parker, *Sir Robert Peel from his private papers*, II, 354-355.

One of the first duties of the new government was to select a successor to Lord Sydenham as governor-general of Canada, and, while this was under consideration, Lord Stanley forwarded to Peel some of the private letters from Sydenham to Lord John Russell. As might be expected, Sydenham's boastful self-confidence made an unfavourable impression upon Peel. And, apropos of the governmental system which the former had established in Canada, Peel remarked: "I am afraid Lord Sydenham has acted on the principle of purchasing present acquiescence and support by large promises which he foresaw others would have to fulfil."<sup>1</sup> As is now well known, Peel showed the greatest interest in both the appointment of Sir Charles Bagot as governor-general of Canada and in the fight over the establishment of responsible government.<sup>2</sup> But the correspondence between Peel and Stanley reveals, also, that the prime minister was interested in, and that his advice was sought on, such questions as the Canadian civil list,<sup>3</sup> the grant of honours to distinguished servants of the crown in British North America, amnesty to men implicated in the Rebellion of 1837, payment to Louis Papineau of the arrears of his salary as speaker of the assembly of Lower Canada, and Canadian colonization. The remainder of this discussion deals with letters between Peel and Stanley with reference to these details of Canadian administration.

On November 15, 1842, Lord Stanley inquired from Peel, who was notoriously chary in granting honours, whether there were any reasons why Judge Haliburton<sup>4</sup> should not be knighted. His case is compared with that of Dr. Archibald<sup>5</sup> who had applied for a baronetcy. Stanley considered Haliburton a distinguished judge, but, since he had been on the bench only a year, his elevation might create dissatisfaction. In this connection, Stanley expressed the following interesting opinion:

I think, as I believe I have already mentioned to you, that we are too chary of these very cheap rewards for Colonial Service; and I think you would consider seriously the suggestion I once threw out

<sup>1</sup>Peel to Stanley, October 5, 1841. Copy, *Peel papers*, British Museum, Add. MSS., 40467, f. 72.

<sup>2</sup>See Paul Knaplund, "The Buller-Peel Correspondence regarding Canada, 1841", (*CANADIAN HISTORICAL REVIEW*, VIII, 41-50); Parker, *Sir Robert Peel from his private papers*, II, 379-387; G. P. de T. Glazebrook, *Sir Charles Bagot in Canada* (London, 1929), 13-15, 63, 106.

<sup>3</sup>*Ibid.*, 106.

<sup>4</sup>T. C. Haliburton (Sam Slick).

<sup>5</sup>Evidently S. G. W. Archibald, speaker of the assembly, Nova Scotia.

of Colonial Baronetcies, taking rank after all Baronetcies of the United Kingdom—I think there would be advantage in many of our Colonies in introducing the principle of hereditary succession. I think it applicable to the North American and the Australian Colonies, in the latter of which there are large landed properties, which such an encouragement will tend to keep in some degree together. But this is a wide field. I can only find in all 2 Baronetcies, and 3 Knighthoods granted in all the North American Provinces since 1821. Chief Justice Robinson however, and I believe the Chief Justice of New Brunswick, declined the latter.<sup>1</sup>

The amnesty question harassed and embarrassed both Canadian governors-general and successive colonial secretaries during the '40's.<sup>2</sup> Stanley, in writing to Peel on October 3, 1842, asked for an opportunity to discuss this question with his chief,<sup>3</sup> and on August 30, 1843, in forwarding to Peel despatch No. 16 from Sir Charles Metcalfe, which dealt with this question, he called attention to the fact that

Sir Charles, in default of a General Amnesty has exercised his discretionary power in favour of Dr. Duncombe, Dr. Rolph, and Montgomery, probably the three men with the exception of MacKenzie, the most deeply involved in the guilt of the Upper Canada Rebellion; and it is quite plain from the tenor of his letter that he is about forthwith to extend the same favour to Papineau. After this it is absolutely impossible to withhold a free pardon in favour of any of those who are suffering in the penal colonies the consequences of any political offences, however aggravated; and with your concurrence, I should prefer at once to anticipate the possibility of any address or other step by the Canadian Legislature, by issuing directions to the Governor of Van Diemen's Land to grant Her Majesty's free pardon to all of Her Subjects who may now be under sentence in that colony for offences connected with the Insurrections in Canada, such pardons however not to secure them against subsequent trial in Canada for crimes, such as murder, other than those for which they may have been transported, and which may be excepted from any general amnesty to be passed in Canada. I have confined myself to Her Majesty's subjects; but I should be glad of your opinion in what way we should deal with subjects of the United

<sup>1</sup>Original MS., *Peel papers*, British Museum, Add. MSS., 40467, ff. 291-292. Lord Stanley's views on colonial honours coincided with those of James Stephen, and may, indeed, have had the latter as source.

<sup>2</sup>Chester Martin, *Empire and Commonwealth* (Oxford, 1929), 275, 288, 289.

<sup>3</sup>Original MS., *Peel papers*, British Museum, Add. MSS., 40467, ff. 243-244.

States who may be similarly circumstanced. The inclination of my own mind would be to include them in the Pardon, but to make it a condition that they should not return to Canada. If we decide on this course, shall we communicate it at once officially to Everett,<sup>1</sup> or shall we let him learn privately that an application from his Government to that effect will be complied with? The first would seem the most friendly course, if they were disposed so to view it; but it is possible they might take the line of saying that they took no interest in these people, who had richly deserved their sentence. If there were a chance of such a result, it might be better that they should ask for an extension of mercy to them. It is satisfactory to see that Metcalfe has required the oath of allegiance to be taken as a condition of the Pardons he granted. I do not propose to require it of those who have undergone five years transportation. With men of their class it would be a form, and taken by them as Prisoners it could hardly be held binding. Pray let me learn from you without delay, as I would write to Metcalfe by the mail of the 4th.<sup>2</sup>

To this Sir Robert Peel replied:

Drayton Manor

August 31, 1843

My dear Stanley:

I have read the dispatches of Sir C. Metcalfe which accompanied your note of yesterday.

That respecting Amnesty does not impress me with a very high opinion of Sir Charles's foresight. I think he might without much reflection have concluded that after he had pardoned Rolf [sic] and Duncombe, and had extended to Montgomerie [sic] forgiveness for the frenzy of his rebellious conduct, Lower Canadians would begin to ask themselves "What has Papineau done worse than these?"

It certainly seems to follow as a natural consequence of Amnesty to the Leaders in a Rebellion that it should be extended to their deluded followers.

My doubt as to the expediency of immediate and almost unconditional pardon to all convicted Rebels now in penal colonies is, that Sir C. Metcalfe does not very strongly press for this act on our part.

If you will refer to the two last pages of his dispatch you will see that he hardly expects it. He urges it less strongly in this dispatch, I think, than in the preceding one.

I would rather avoid, if possible, particularly with reference to

<sup>1</sup>The American minister in London.

<sup>2</sup>Original MS., *Peel papers*, British Museum, Add. MSS., 40468, ff. 44-45.

Ireland and to general, more than Canadian, considerations, a coup d'état though it be in favour of Mercy.

If however you think the general amnesty to the Convicts is so necessary a consequence, in point of equity and reason, of the recent acts of Sir C. Metcalfe that it will be instantly and urgently pressed from Canada and that it is better to anticipate a demand with which we must comply I shall readily acquiesce in your decision.

In that case I would still make a distinction between the subjects of Her Majesty and American Subjects—so far at least as to postpone the consideration of the case of the latter.

There may be some embarrassment in the tardy and discriminating extension of mercy—but I dread the effect of an impression that the Crown makes light of Rebellion or of such unprovoked and unjustifiable outrages on a friendly state as those that were committed by the American Convicts.

Sir C. Metcalfe in this dispatch says that if the general Amnesty cannot be granted to the Convicts in the penal Colonies, he will submit to you from time to time applications in behalf of Individuals.

If this course of proceeding be compatible with Canadian policy I should much prefer it to general Amnesty. It will excite less attention, and have less the air of condonation of Treason. The applications might be on an extensive scale, and if they proceeded on some principle of discriminating between degrees of guilt would be wholly free from objection. The compliance with them would have all the appearance of a well-considered act of mercy to unquestionable offenders, and not that which I fear indiscriminate amnesty would be construed at least to have, an admission that the Rebellion had been justified resistance to bad government.

Sir C. Metcalfe in this dispatch quotes the case of Mackenzie as an example of the advantage of withholding general amnesty.

Can you pursue this course—State to Sir C. Metcalfe the expediency—on general and imperial grounds—of discriminating, but if he thinks fit, comprehensive applications for mercy to convicts in the Penal Colonies—prefer this course if it be compatible with his views of Canadian policy—but give him a discretionary authority in case he should find that his own acts of indulgence to Rolph, Papineau and others, or other considerations arising out of colonial necessities, demonstrate to him the policy of immediate and more general amnesty, to prevent any movement in its favour by declaring the intention of the Crown to grant such amnesty to all British Subjects?

(You will find in Lord Ashburton's correspondence some reference to the case of American Convicts.)

I have thus given you my impressions rather than my decisive opinions—and remember that you may rely upon my entire and cordial support should you determine upon a course different from that which I am inclined, if there be an option, to prefer.

Ever etc.

(Signed) Robert Peel

(P.S.)

Lord Sydenham's death, untimely as it might be in every other respect, was a very timely relief to him from Canadian Embarrassments. It is evident that his policy was on the eve of exposure.<sup>1</sup>

In his answer to this letter, dated September 2, 1843, Lord Stanley wrote:

I agree with you on again looking over Sir Charles Metcalfe's Dispatch that he does not press, as strongly as he did, the general Amnesty to the Colonial Prisoners—I send you, in original, the Draft of a Dispatch which I think will embody your views—I send you also, for reference, the one I had previously written, which you have already seen, and which I still propose to send, after softening, if you still think it requires it, a passage which I understand you and Graham thought rather strong.<sup>2</sup>

The amnesty question continued to agitate minds both in Canada and in England. On January 18, 1844, Lord Stanley sent to Peel five despatches from Metcalfe in which he recommended "20 criminals for pardon, some of whom", Stanley observed, "you will see, both from his statements, and from a memorandum founded on some notes of mine written after reading all the State Mails, were among the aggravated cases. You will see also, that he recommended them all on general principles; but I suppose his recommendations must be acted on."<sup>3</sup>

Peel complained that Metcalfe had not put his recommendations for mercy "in a very inviting form", but concluded that "the difficulties in which, from no fault of his own, Sir Charles Metcalfe is involved constitute a good reason for not withholding consent to his Recommendations."<sup>4</sup>

During this time, Metcalfe also asked to be authorized to assent to a request, if such should be made, for the payment of Papineau's arrears of salary as speaker of the house of assembly in Lower Canada. Stanley admitted, in a letter to Peel dated

<sup>1</sup>Copy, *ibid.*, ff. 46-48.

<sup>2</sup>Original MS., *ibid.*, f. 50.

<sup>3</sup>Original MS., *ibid.*, ff. 116-117.

<sup>4</sup>Peel to Stanley, January 20, 1844, copy, *ibid.*, f. 118.

December 26, 1843, that he was "most unwilling to give such a sanction." Some time had elapsed since Metcalfe made this request and Stanley observed:

It is possible that his rupture with Lafontaine and the rest of his Executive Council may have materially altered that state of the case: but it is also possible that it may have increased his wish to possess the authority asked for, with the view of obtaining the support of the Lower Canadians, notwithstanding the secession of Lafontaine, who, individually, would not be desirous of seeing Papineau's return.<sup>1</sup>

Peel replied promptly as usual:

Drayton Manor  
December 28, 1843

My dear Stanley:

I cannot advise that Sir Charles Metcalfe should encourage and favor the claim of M. Papineau.

M. Papineau refused the sum due to him when he might have had it. He courted popular favor by its refusal. He strengthened by its refusal his own position which was that of revolt against British Supremacy in Canada. He took all the chances of success and he ought to incur the risks and bear the inconveniences of failure.

If the popular assembly in Canada, as their own suggested act and on their own responsibility, take such measures as they may be enabled constitutionally to take for the purpose of satisfying the claim of M. Papineau—it may be difficult to interpose the authority of the Executive with the view of defeating the object of the Assembly; but I do earnestly recommend that we should be enabled to say with truth "We were not a party, we gave no preliminary sanction to the Act of the Canadian Assembly."

Let us deal with that Act when it is before us—let us know the circumstances attending it—the particulars of the discussion which may arise upon it—the majority by which it may be satisfied. But I think we shall stand higher in moral influence—and at any rate in self-esteem—if we refuse to lend our sanction to any secret understanding in favor of the grant, or to any sort of preliminary encouragement to it.

It is not a mere Canadian question. I do not say that the Money must under all circumstances be refused—It is possible that the claim may be presented in a form which would justify, possibly would compel reluctant acquiescence in payment.

<sup>1</sup>Original MS., *ibid.*, ff. 95-96.

But what Sir Charles Metcalfe proposes is coquetry with Papineau—the trying to anticipate some other authority in an act of favor towards him.<sup>1</sup>

Late in the parliamentary session of 1843, Charles Buller raised the question of systematic colonization of Canada as a means for relieving distress at home. He developed this subject in a long speech in the house of commons on August 15 and recommended, among other steps, that the government should expropriate Canadian wild land, compensating the owners for the "present value" of such land, and should place settlers on it.<sup>2</sup> Buller's speech was printed in the *Colonial Gazette*, a copy of which was sent to Lord Stanley who, on September 19, forwarded it to Peel with a memorandum of his own. Stanley regarded Buller's plan as "at once so objectionable and impracticable that I hardly know what the character of my communication [to the government of Canada] is to be."<sup>3</sup> Peel agreed with Stanley:

Drayton Manor

September 25, 1843

My dear Stanley:

I return the report of Buller's speech and your Memorandum.

There is great force in your objections to the specific propositions made by Buller. The forced sale of land—paying no interest on the purchase money is a startling proposal as a precedent.

It might not be very easy to draw a distinction in principle between the Compulsory resumption of Crown Grants in Canada (paying or rather promising the value of the Land) upon the ground that the public interest would be promoted by such resumption—and a demand upon Lord Egremont or Lord Lansdowne to sell, at their estimated value, their Irish Properties to the Government for the purpose of resale in suitable lots to Resident Purchasers.

I think Hope in his reply to Buller<sup>4</sup> held out an expectation that the subject of Emigration should occupy or rather continue to occupy the attention of the Government.

Buller's positive statements with regard to the quantity of rich land in certain Districts of Canada, not now applied to any useful purpose, are calculated to make a strong impression, and I am not surprised that the conclusions drawn by those who do not look

<sup>1</sup>Copy, *ibid.*, ff. 99-100.

<sup>2</sup>*Hansard*, 3d series, LXXI, 762-788.

<sup>3</sup>Original MS., *Peel papers*, British Museum, Add. MSS., 40468, ff. 59-60.

<sup>4</sup>G. W. Hope, speech of August 15, 1843, *Hansard*, 3d series, LXXI, 788-791.

minutely into details, is strongly in favour of some extensive scheme of Emigration to be directly promoted by the Government.

Would it be possible for you to make a Communication to the Governor of Canada, not authorizing any formal Representation to the Colonial Legislature, but putting on Record the facts of the case—detailing the powers which under existing Laws local authorities possess for the purpose of mitigating the Evil Consequences of past mismanagement, and showing that provision is already made for many things which the uninformed suppose to have been neglected. The Governor might be asked whether he has any suggestions to offer for ensuring a gradual increase of The Population of the Canadas—by any additional measures for encouragement of Emigration on sound principles—beyond those already in operation.

Such a Communication might be useful, if it only shewed that during the Recess—the subject of Emigration had been under our Consideration—and that if we had not lent ourselves to the plausible schemes of projectors, who readily dispose of millions when they are not subject to the responsibility of raising them—there were valid and substantial reasons for our caution.<sup>1</sup>

Ever most truly your's

Robert Peel

Sir Robert Peel was never a little Englander, but occasionally he was wearied by what he considered to be the unreasonableness of the colonists. At such times he felt the need of an emphatic declaration on colonial policy. In a postscript in a note to Stanley, on February 2, 1844, he wrote:

It is a hard bargain enough to have to give every advantage of connection with the Mother Country and to undertake serious responsibility and charge of providing for internal tranquility and for defence from external attack. But at the same time that we give the advantage and undertake the responsibility to be met at every turn by a captious and quibbling spirit—and above all to be denied the means of well-governing the Province—of ensuring the independent and respectable administration of justice and the employment of honest and efficient civil servants, will make the connection too onerous a burden to be borne. We shall soon have to tell the factious people there is one limit to our concessions—We will not govern you in a manner discreditable to us and injurious to you.<sup>2</sup>

PAUL KNAPLUND

<sup>1</sup>Copy, *Peel papers*, British Museum, Add. MSS., 40468, ff. 62-63.

<sup>2</sup>Copy, *ibid.*, f. 124. For similar views see also Parker, *Sir Robert Peel*, III, 389.

## REVIEW ARTICLES

### CANADA AND THE PROBLEMS OF THE WORLD'S POPULATION AND MIGRATION MOVEMENTS

TWENTY years ago we were in the midst of one of the greatest human migrations of history. To-day that movement has all but ended and there is little doubt that we are entering upon a new cycle of human growth, a cycle in which migration will not assume the gigantic rôle which for a century past it has played. Since much of Canada's history has been concerned with immigration, students of Canadian history and affairs will do well to acquaint themselves with the many recent attempts at serious and detached study of the problems of population and migration.

The literature of the subject, enormous in its extent, reflects the change in conditions.<sup>1</sup> We no longer have many books dealing with

<sup>1</sup>It is impossible to mention many of the aspects of so complex a subject, and reference to periodical literature is therefore omitted although there is wealth of material available. The following works are mentioned in the article:

- Danger spots in world population.* By WARREN S. THOMPSON. New York: Alfred A. Knopf; Toronto: Longmans, Green and Co. 1929. Pp. xi, 343.
- Population.* By CORRADO GINI, SHIROSHI NASU, OLIVER E. BAKER and ROBERT R. KUCZYNSKI. Chicago: University of Chicago Press. 1930. Pp. ix, 312.
- The world's population problems and a white Australia.* By H. L. WILKINSON. London: P. S. King and Son. 1930. Pp. xvii, 337. (18s.)
- Foules d'Asie.* Par ETIENNE DENNERVY. Paris: Librairie Armand Colin. 1930. Pp. 247.
- International migration: Vol. I, Statistics.* Compiled by IMRE FERENCZI and edited by WALTER F. WILCOX. New York: National Bureau of Economic Research. 1929. Pp. 1112.
- Annuaire statistique international.* 1929. Geneva: Société des nations. 1930. Pp. 262.
- Migration laws and treaties.* 3 vols. Geneva: International Labour Office. 1928, 1929. Pp. xx, 403; vii, 486; xii, 383.
- Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science,* July, 1930: pp. 1-7,  
"Population growth and economic pressure", by ROBERT R. KUCZYNSKI; pp. 7-10,  
"Immigration and the population problem", by HENRY P. FAIRCHILD; pp. 13-25,  
"The attitude of immigrant countries", by EDNA MACMAHON.
- Oriental exclusion.* By R. D. MCKENZIE. Chicago: University of Chicago Press. 1928. Pp. vii, 200.
- Human migration and the future.* By J. W. GREGORY. London: Seeley, Service and Company. 1928. Pp. 218.
- Minutes of proceedings and evidence and report in respect to the consideration of the subject of immigration, the Immigration Act and regulations and the work of the Department of Immigration and Colonization: Select standing committee on agriculture and colonization.* Ottawa: King's Printer. 1928. Pp. 826.
- Report of the Royal Commission on immigration and settlement.* Regina Government of Saskatchewan, 1930. Pp. 206.

the day-to-day processes of immigration but, rather, numbers which attempt to study the phenomena of human growth. The discussion is not of "melting pots" and unlimited horizons but of the falling birth-rate and an optimum population. We face Malthusian deductions, but without the terror they formerly inspired, for we have made some discoveries since Malthus's day, and we know that the factor "the standard of living" has changed the situation entirely.

At present virtually all the northern half of the white world with the exception of the Slavic countries seems to be reasonably close to a stationary population. Great Britain will probably attain one within fifteen years, and the United States by the year 2000, when her population may be about 200,000,000. Canada will probably follow suit and have a population of about the same ratio to that of the United States as she now has. A second group of countries in Europe and the Orient are to-day in the same stage as was Great Britain eighty years ago. Science and sanitation are slowly decreasing their death-rates but not as yet appreciably affecting their birth-rates. The result is rapid increase of numbers in Italy, Poland, Russia, Japan, and perhaps (or perhaps not, nobody knows) in China. These are the countries in which Malthusian principles are nakedly at work and where population dogs the heels of subsistence. Those countries such as Canada, which are supposed to have empty lands, form a third group. A fourth group comprises the vacant or thinly peopled areas of the tropics, as, for example, Kenya.

In some form or other, what the world's population is going to do and how these four groups are going to affect it, becomes the text from which most modern sermons on the subject are preached. On certain general conclusions there is some approach to agreement. Thus the northern peoples are soon going to stand still. The southern whites and the Japanese will follow them at one remove, though it may be a long one. The Chinese being meek and the most adaptable of peoples, will inherit the earth, from Saghalien to the East Indies—and elsewhere, wherever they have free entrance. But there will be no general redistribution of population, for that is physically impossible, and emigration, no matter how large the scale on which it be conducted, will never be a solution for over-population, as can be seen from the fact that the Japanese alone, to say nothing of the Hindus and the Chinese, are increasing by about a million a year. Some comfort is vouchsafed us in the finding that population will not go on growing until space is so scarce that humanity has to be stacked up in heaps: the earth, it is believed, can support perhaps three or four times as many people as at present, or between five and ten billion, not more. Authorities are in

disagreement as to whether population follows some natural law or whether increase and decrease of births is voluntary, Slavs and Italians contending for the former because it enables them to describe other peoples as effete, Americans for the most part saying it is all a matter of birth control. The author of one of the books here reviewed, Mr. W. S. Thompson, thinks methods of birth control among the great discoveries of all time, equal in importance to that, say, of fire.

Over-population in particular regions with its effects upon other parts of the world forms the main theme of the books by Thompson, Dennery, and Wilkinson. The latter seeks to prove that Australia has done reasonably well in occupying her territory and that there is no case for those who say she is acting as dog in the manger; the northern territory of Australia is barren and the white man is working tropical Queensland satisfactorily. M. Dennery limits himself largely to descriptions of economic and social conditions in the Orient and to the why and wherefore of its migration movements. The Chinaman not being politically minded and the Japanese refusing to leave Japan, he can see no ground for taking the "yellow peril" very seriously. The chief effect of such legislation as the American Exclusion Act of 1924, he agrees with Professor McKenzie (whose book is a description of anti-Oriental measures in the United States), has merely been to heighten the self-consciousness and wound the pride of a sensitive people.

Mr. Thompson's is the most suggestive book of the three. He looks at the world as a whole and, seeing the unevenness of its occupation (his geographical and political knowledge may be rather thin here and there), and the unjust spectacle presented by those nations which, having empty lands and wealth, refuse to share with people in dire need, he predicts only one outcome, war. Sooner or later the overflowing peoples will try to seize some of the lands held in idleness by the static peoples. In the latter class, despite her present redundancy of population, is Great Britain. The Empire, as at present constituted, containing within itself much of the remaining empty space of the world, and yet with "no admittance" signs everywhere, he regards as one of the greatest potential dangers to peace; a not unhealthy breeze for Britons to allow to blow upon their complacency. Sooner or later, he thinks, the inevitable opportunity of an international situation will enable Italy or Japan to seize or otherwise obtain parts of the Empire, such as New Guinea or East Africa. The view is not unreasonable: the Anglo-Saxon has never had too many friends.

Mr. Thompson's plan of avoiding war by amicable redistribution of territory is unfortunately utopian. Undoubtedly it would make for better feeling if Italy and Japan had some respectable colonies, even

though these could have no effect in relieving over-population, but it is too much to hope that Great Britain, still less France and Australia, will ever make a voluntary surrender. Perhaps the most serious omission in the book is the complete disregard of the existence of the League of Nations. As between first-rate powers, the League may not count for as much as we would wish, but it surely counts for something.

In the lectures given at the University of Chicago through the Harris Foundation, four contributors discuss various aspects of the problems of population. Signor Gini tries to prove that "nations" are born, live, die, as individuals, an old thesis, to which he brings the support of some unusual types of vital statistics. The decreasing birth-rate in the more advanced nations is, he thinks, not due to the human will but to some deep-seated biological process. One has an uneasy feeling that he is chiefly concerned with laying a basis for the prevailing Italian point of view.<sup>1</sup> Mr. Baker in the same volume provides an interesting series of charts to show how mechanization is revolutionizing agriculture and depopulating large sections of the countryside. Applying his conclusions to western Canada, one soon realizes that it is vain to expect the west to grow materially in numbers in the future. Despite the large areas of unoccupied lands, which according to Professor Gregory it possesses (an exaggeration that others who ought to know better believe in with him), we must expect to see its rural population remain at very much its present level or even decline.

To the *Annals of the American Academy* of last July, Professor Kuczynski and Professor Fairchild contribute useful papers. The former easily disposes of a point of view that has gained a good deal of currency, that is, that a decreasing population would spell greater wealth for each individual. It would, in fact, except in countries obviously over-populated such as Great Britain and India, mean unemployment and decreasing wealth. Professor Fairchild, on the other hand, provides a useful antidote to the utterances of those who go about blandly vapouring about filling up the empty spaces of the dominions with English unemployed. Here is the tragedy of that problem; over-population seems a plight from which only nature, not emigration, can rescue a country.

Professor Gregory's work is a survey of conditions in the style of yesterday. Schemes of governmental aid, not the scientific examination of the problems of population, interest him. The apposite verses prefixed to each chapter constitute the best feature of this book.

The statistical and legal summaries of the League of Nations and of the International Labour Office are most useful. In well-arranged

<sup>1</sup>Contrast the coldly scientific work of Raymond Pearl, *Biology of population growth* (Johns Hopkins, 1927).

tables Mr. Ferenczi's huge volume gives for every country of the modern world all the statistical material available on migration from the beginning of the nineteenth century to the present.

The *Report* of 1928 issued by the Dominion government is a good example of how not to prepare a parliamentary paper. It appears to be a stenographic record of what took place in committee, has neither head nor tail, no logical order of arrangement, is filled with misprints, and has no index. It is impossible to use it satisfactorily and it constitutes in its present form a regrettable waste of public money. The *Report* of the Saskatchewan royal commission on immigration, which is just to hand, appears, on a cursory inspection, to be all that the Dominion report is not—a well-ordered, systematic, and scientific survey, arranged under convenient topical headings. Its findings confirm the growing impression that there is not much unoccupied land left in the west. Its excellences do not, however, excuse the lack of an index.

A good many articles relating to Canada's problems of population and immigration have appeared in periodicals within the last year or two. While it is impossible to discuss them here, it is satisfactory to note that, after a long night of darkness in which few intelligent opinions appeared, Canadian writers are at last beginning to outgrow the worst lunacies of the "booster psychology" and to discuss the Dominion's problems of population with some approach to adult mentality.

A. R. M. LOWER

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#### RECENT BOOKS ON COLUMBUS

THE life of Columbus will never cease to appeal to all classes of readers. Of this fact the appearance within recent months of several volumes, which describe his career from several points of view, is another demonstration.<sup>1</sup> Now that the *Raccolta Colombiana* has given us all the documents, there remains only the question of their interpretation.

<sup>1</sup>*Christophe Colomb ou l'heureux génois.* Par ANDRÉ DE HEVESY. Paris: Emile-Paul Frères. 1927. Pp. 210.

*The discoverer.* By ANDRÉ DE HEVESY. New York: The Macaulay Company. 1928. Pp. 285.

*Columbus, Don Quixote of the seas.* By JACOB WASSERMANN. Translated by ERIC SUTTON. Boston: Little, Brown and Company. 1930. Pp. 287; illustrations.

*The voyages of Christopher Columbus, being the journals of his first and third, and the letters concerning his first and last voyage to which is added the account of his second voyage written by Andres Bernaldez.* Now newly translated and edited by CECIL JANE. London: The Argonaut Press. 1930. Pp. 347. (£2. 2s. 0d.)

*Select documents illustrating the four voyages of Columbus.* By CECIL JANE. Volume I. Hakluyt Society. 1930. Pp. 167.

M. de Hevesy, being a Latin and thoroughly familiar with the history of art during the renaissance, has written a scholarly and delightful account, which in the original has reached a fifth edition, and has now been translated into English. He knows well the established facts of Columbus's career and winds about them a most attractive tale, enlivened here and there with paragraphs referring to contemporary events or pictures of the period. He quotes in full, for instance, the delightful study of Toscanelli which we owe to the prince of Italian booksellers, Vespasiano da Bisticci, which is rarely given in its entirety. M. de Hevesy believes in the authenticity of the Toscanelli correspondence as well as in that of the map found by M. de la Roncière in the Bibliothèque Nationale. "If it is not the original", he says, "it is one of exactly the same type" (p. 67), with which opinion the writer entirely agrees.

In one of his recent works M. de la Roncière propounded the theory that Columbus was not so much a sailor as a trader who had crossed the Atlantic in search of gold. This theory M. de Hevesy now adopts although it is one which must not be pushed too far. In the document of August 25, 1479, upon which it is in part based, we merely learn that Columbus, who was then twenty-seven years of age, had gone from Lisbon to Madeira for sugar, that he was leaving Genoa the next day for Lisbon, and had a hundred florins in his pocket. It shows us the important fact that, during these early years, Columbus travelled much about the Atlantic islands, during the course of which voyages he also became proficient as a sailor.

M. de Hevesy has emphasized Columbus's idea of the new regions, which he estimated to be the mainland of Asia, but to which a vast archipelago formed the approach. This is based upon the best writers of the time, and on the Behaim globe the number of these islands is given as 12,700! This author also understands why Columbus and Fonseca could not get along together. "Important idlers who had strutted under the palm-trees of Seville suddenly found themselves in possession of lucrative posts, of ample piles of paper and of thick bunches of quill pens" (p. 109)!

One of the best chapters of this short volume is the last, describing Fernando's visit to Italy in search of his ancestors. For this alone the volume was well worth translating into English as nothing so amusing has ever been written on this subject.

Judging from the vogue of German biographies, one gets the impression that, until the advent of Ludwig, Wassermann, and such writers of fiction, the world knew nothing of its greatest men. Herr Ludwig's *Jesus* was a farce, and this attempt to compare Columbus with Don Quixote seems only one degree less so. Columbus, after all, did discover

America, and in 1492 this was no mean achievement. Although the author tells us that he has spent nearly twenty years upon this life, he betrays an ignorance of the elementary facts and dates which is astounding. He thinks that the year of Columbus's birth is uncertain, and that any year between 1436 and 1446 will do. It has been known for some time that Columbus was born in 1451, since in 1470 he expressly declared that he was then nineteen years of age. Instead, therefore, of being in 1491 a "persistent old dotard" (p. 55) he was but forty years of age, and only forty-one when he discovered America. Similarly Columbus had nothing to do with the monks of San Esteban at Salamanca, and their archives have never been found (p. 77). To state that "the log-books had been published by Hernando Colon in conjunction with Las Casas in 1536" displays an amazing ignorance. Fernando's life was first printed in 1571 in Venice in Italian and the much fuller log of Las Casas first saw the light in 1825! When in this latter Las Casas quotes "the Admiral", Wassermann thinks that Columbus is himself speaking and calling himself "the Admiral" (p. 80)! According to Herr Wassermann, however, "truth has little to do with research into documents" (p. 4). It has to be dug out of the human soul in which alone it is found! Out of his own vivid imagination, therefore, he depicts Columbus as he thinks he must have been. "He was as morose as a monk, crafty as a peasant, without a glimmer of humour" (p. 59). According to Wassermann he possessed an amazing eloquence and when setting sail "gave orders in a mighty voice to hoist the anchor" (p. 73). Needless to say the records tell us nothing whatever of Columbus's vocal qualities.

When he vilifies Columbus things take a more serious turn. Herr Wassermann thinks that Columbus "was unable to make a nautical reckoning himself" (p. 78) which is a deliberate mis-statement. According to Las Casas, Columbus in the art of navigation excelled without any doubt all others who lived in his day, and as late as 1924 an American writer expresses agreement with this view (G. E. Nunn, *The geographical conceptions of Columbus*, New York, 1924).

As will be seen, therefore, this is not a biography of Columbus based upon the sources but a picture made up of personal impressions having almost no relation to the known facts. Even Queen Isabella we are told was "afraid of responsibility" (p. 64) "in spite of all her cross-grained religious zeal" (p. 41) although most people picture her differently. One has already pointed to some few facts regarding Columbus's career which are well known and shown the impression they have made upon Herr Wassermann. When Columbus left Portugal, both Fernando and Las Casas tell us his wife was dead. Wassermann is of the opinion that she merely

"stayed behind with the younger children presumably in poverty and misery" (p. 37)!

It was not the fault of Columbus that Marco Polo and others had described in such glowing terms the riches of the east nor is he to blame for thinking, on reaching America, that he had arrived at those rich regions. Why he should, therefore, be dubbed a Don Quixote is not easy to follow. The tragedy began when the natives were made slaves and forced to find gold where little existed. Herr Wassermann's feelings on this subject are merely those of Las Casas and others whose works he has possibly read. The disappointment in Spain naturally told on Columbus, whose health eventually broke down under the strain. All this the author greatly exaggerates like a "close-up" of a modern film. Columbus can now do nothing right. What he writes is "a farrago of nonsense" (p. 178) and his incapacity that of a poet (p. 195). "The very stars fought against Columbus", says Herrera and this well sums up the final *débâcle*.

Occasionally one gets an interesting passage, as when Herr Wassermann asks whether or not Columbus was a Jew. He shows an uncanny knowledge of this race and weighs both the Jewish and non-Jewish qualities of Columbus in a remarkably clever manner.

The translation has not been well done and there are many places where the meaning could have been made clearer. The Grand Khan is either "Great Cham" or "Grand Cham." The Indians are always Indios and Prince Henry the Navigator "Don Enrico." Few will recognize Pierre d'Ailly as "Pedro de Aliaco" (p. 213). Many of the allusions are by no means clear, and dates are left out in the majority of cases.

Mr. Cecil Jane, who has devoted many years to a study of Columbus's career, has just published two very valuable volumes with introductions which are of extreme interest. That to the volume published by the Argonaut Press runs to 128 quarto pages and that to the volume issued by the Hakluyt Society to 137 octavo pages. It is true that Mr. Jane is rather prolix and it is not until page 11 of the former volume that he actually gets to grips with Columbus's career. In general he presupposes far too much knowledge on the part of his readers and never once describes, for instance, the contents of the Toscanelli letters, the authenticity of which he fully accepts.

Regarding the lands of which Columbus was in search Mr. Jane propounds a new theory which can hardly be substantiated. He thinks Columbus had in mind to discover a mainland towards the south, and in support thereof emphasizes the fact that he did not proceed steadily towards the west. If one examines the records, however, the reason for

this seems fairly clear. On October 21 he hoped to press on towards the Asiatic mainland, present his letters to the Grand Khan, and return with his reply. Should he, however, find *en route* any islands full of gold and precious stones he would stop and collect as much as possible. He had especially in view Cipangu which "on the spheres I have seen and on the mappemondes is in this region" (p. 162). His reasons for not proceeding westward along the north coast of Cuba were twofold. In the first place it ran north-west whither in winter he did not wish to proceed (p. 174), and secondly the Indians here told him there was great store of gold towards the south-east (p. 171). He gathered, moreover, that Espanola and Jamaica were only ten days' journey in canoes (which he reckoned at sixty or seventy leagues) from the Asiatic mainland, where the people went about clothed (p. 229).

The desertion of the *Pinta* and the total loss of the *Santa-Maria* forced Columbus to alter his plans completely. His one object now was to hasten home with the news of his discovery. Before this his intention had been to see "all that land towards the east in order to learn the length of the journey from Castile thither" (p. 223). He hoped in any case there would be a trade in cotton between Espanola and the cities of the Grand Khan (p. 173).

To deny, as does Mr. Jane, that "the discovery of the New World created a vast sensation" (p. 8) is surely to misread both history and human nature. The effect was, in fact, tremendous as Columbus's reception both in Portugal and in Spain well proves. Mr. Jane also questions the interview at Barcelona although the sovereigns in their letter of March 30 refer to Columbus's impending arrival and Oviedo tells us he actually assisted at Columbus's reception. This is rather typical of Mr. Jane's whole attitude, induced no doubt by that of the late Mr. Henry Vignaud. Any document that contradicted Mr. Vignaud's theory was declared a forgery. Mr. Jane does not go quite so far as this but his whole attitude is unnecessarily critical. The general outlines of Columbus's career are well known, but even these are not brought out by Mr. Jane in anything like a clear outline. He is fond of the phrase "if the authenticity of the document be admitted", which in the case of that of August 25, 1479, is superfluous.

Although many of Columbus's own assertions cannot be accepted at their full face value some of them undoubtedly help us to understand his early career. He tells us, for instance, that "many times it has been my business to bring men from Guinea" (p. 174), which is hardly the same as saying that "he claims to have made frequent voyages to the coast of Guinea" (p. 20). Columbus also shows familiarity with the size of the crossbows in France and England (p. 237), and on reaching the Azores

on his return, the captain of the island of Santa Maria said he knew Columbus well (p. 249) which shows that he was also familiar with these islands. On his arrival at Madeira on his third voyage, he was given "a very good reception with much festivity at Fonciale because he was well-known there having been for some time a resident" (p. 267). He had, in fact, been trading to Madeira since 1478. It is a pity that Mr. Jane has not brought such facts into more relief for the light they throw upon Columbus's early life, which he leaves very hazy.

Columbus was no administrator, and this fact combined with the absence of the precious metals in anything like the expected quantities led to his downfall. Martin Behaim had called Cipangu "the richest island in the east, full of gold, spices and precious stones." According to Marco Polo, the king's palace there was "entirely roofed with fine gold" while the windows were also of gold. Columbus had read of this as he tells us "in many trust-worthy and wise historians who related that great riches were to be found in those parts." Since "in the spheres he had seen and in the mappemondes Cipangu was in the very region he had discovered" (p. 162), what was more natural than for Columbus to imagine that he had actually reached those parts? He thought that the things of great value as well as the great centres of population must be inland (p. 186) since he found no traces of them along the coasts. Even in 1503 he declared that Veragua was the Aurea Chersoneus and that the Ganges was only ten days' journey from Ciguare. Like a will-of-the-wisp, the fabulous east kept always receding just outside his immediate reach. Columbus did not ask for this wealth so much for himself as for the conquest of Jerusalem (p. 221). The Alpha and Omega of the whole enterprise was in fact that only Catholic Christians should set foot in these parts (p. 186).

Mr. Jane's translations are excellent but the *Journal* would have gained from the identifications given in Markham's edition. For instance, Santa Maria de la Cinta at Huelva is still in existence and is full of *ex votos*. The translation of Bernaldez is a welcome addition and figures in both volumes from the text published at Seville. The volume published by the Hakluyt Society has the advantage over that published by the Argonaut Press in giving the original texts in addition to copious notes. These volumes will be welcomed by all students of the early history of America and in these days when no reputation seems safe, we must be thankful even for the small meed of praise left to the man who, after all, did discover the New World whether by accident or of malice prepense.

H. P. BIGGAR

## REVIEWS OF BOOKS

*The Fur Trade in Canada: An Introduction to Canadian Economic History.*

By HAROLD A. INNIS. With a preface by R. M. MACIVER. New Haven: Yale University Press. 1930. Pp. 444. (\$5.00.)

THIS is the book in Canadian history which most needed writing, and Mr. Innis has written it well. For years Canadian historians have given us glib generalizations on the importance of the fur trade, have speculated about Peter Pond's map, or have written vaguely and ignorantly of the "romance" of the fur trade. It has remained for Mr. Innis to write, after a long period of laborious and patient research, an authoritative history of the fur trade which will remain for many years the standard work on this subject. It is to be hoped that the fur trade and this interpretation of it cannot now be ignored with impunity by Canadian historians.

Mr. Innis sees his subject as the history of an epoch in which fur as a commodity dominated and shaped the life, at first of the whole of Canada, and then of a diminishing portion. He sees the fur trade, also, as the nexus between the mature mercantile and industrial culture of Europe and the primitive culture of the North American Indians. In the early days of the fur trade the Indians, at least in the north, lived in what has been described as a collectional economy, while western Europe was entering a metropolitan economy. Between these two economies the fur trade provided the contact which brought revolutionary changes and which proved disastrous to the primitive economy.

The book begins by explaining the overshadowing importance of the beaver in the fur trade. Before European settlement, the material culture of the Indians of the Canadian Shield was associated, according to Mr. Clark Wissler, with the white-tailed deer. After the trade with Europe began, the beaver, hitherto relatively unimportant, became the medium through which European commodities profoundly modified Indian culture. Since the beaver was non-migratory, easily discovered, and without adequate defense against fire-arms, it was foredoomed to extinction. Since, further, the fur, desired for making beaver hats, was *castor gras*, that is, beaver fur which had been worn in robes by the Indians until the long guard hairs had been worn off and only the short downy fur suitable for felting was left, the supply in any one area was soon exhausted. These facts, emphasized at certain times and places by advancing settlement, made it inevitable that the fur frontier should

recede rapidly, and that, in consequence, transportation should become the chief conditioning factor of the trade.

There is not space to review, even in outline, the chronicle, which is presented, of the fur trade from the arrival of Jacques Cartier to the present day. Suffice it to say that it is a complete, closely-packed, well-documented narrative. At times the wealth of detail taxes the reader unduly, but in spite of this, the book is well written, and to err on the side of specific and documented detail is to err wisely in the present state of Canadian economic history. The changing fortunes of the fur monopolies of New France, of the Hudson's Bay Company, and of the North West Company's remarkable partnership of hard-fisted, hard-driving Scottish traders with the unexcelled French and half-breed "field force" are set forth in new and illuminating detail. Only in the history of the Hudson's Bay Company does the author fail to produce much fresh and significant information. This lack can only be supplied, apparently, when the Hudson's Bay Company adopts a more reasonable policy with regard to its archives.

One cannot in justice quarrel with a book on the fur trade in Canada because it deals scantily with the fur trade in the United States. Yet something of value would have been gained in this volume if more space could have been given to the attempts of the United States to regulate and encourage the fur trade of the Mississippi valley, and to the political and commercial war carried on by John Jacob Astor against the British traders.

If he had merely set forth the chronicle of the fur trade Mr. Innis would have written an important book. He has, however, gone much further and offered an able and suggestive analysis of the economic processes by which, from the contact of a primitive collectional economy with a mature metropolitan economy, the modern Canada has arisen. Fur was only one (although the most important) of successive staples which bound Canada to British industrialism. In his conclusion, in which he summarizes his analysis, the author sketches briefly the influence of other staples, wheat and the forest products. It was the fur trade, however, which contributed most. The organization built up by the fur trade gave the model, Mr. Innis contends, for the centralized organization of Canadian industry, finance, and transportation, and thus made easy and rapid the assimilation of machine industry when it came. It was fur, and the other staples finding their market in industrialized Britain, which made it inevitable that Canada should remain British.

These broad generalizations are suggestive and illuminating but there is need for caution. It is not demonstrable that the great staples

kept Canada British, though it can be clearly shown that they were centripetal forces. Neither is it demonstrable that Canada's unified banking system sprang from a unified fur trade. Influence there no doubt was, but it can be argued that the geographical conditions and the political boundary which produced an attenuated line of settlements was a conditioning factor which would have existed, aside from the influence of the fur trade. Mr. Innis has enriched his work greatly by the aid of anthropology, but in his conclusions he is in some danger of succumbing to the favourite and seductive sin of the anthropologist, sweeping generalization.

These, however, are small faults; and they are the less serious in that they produce instant correctives in the reader's mind. Mr. Innis has made the most distinctive contribution that has been made to Canadian history for a long time, and he has made a notable beginning in the study of the most important subject in economic history to-day—the study of the development of an immature economy in contact with more mature economies.

The reviewer has one quarrel, rather with the publisher, than with the author, he suspects. There is no adequate map!

W. A. MACKINTOSH

*Statutes, Treaties and Documents of the Canadian Constitution, 1713-1929.*

Edited by W. P. M. KENNEDY. Second edition, revised and enlarged. Oxford: Oxford University Press. 1930. Pp. xxviii, 752. (\$6.00.)

ALTHOUGH the first edition of this standard work, published in 1918, admirably served its purpose, this new edition at once supersedes it, so amply has the editor taken advantage of the opportunity to revise and enlarge it. While undue increase of the total contents has been avoided the volume shows a salutary change of proportion. A number of documents included in the first edition are here omitted, chiefly for the period 1791-1840: as the editor admits, "many of them have been found superfluous in their endless repetitions"; and, moreover, they are all now easy of access.

The new material is abundant and, in every instance, of first-rate importance. Well warranted from the point of view of Canadian history is the addition of documents illustrating British policy with respect to territorial and other arrangements under the Treaty of Utrecht and the beginnings of self-government in Nova Scotia. For the successive periods between 1759 and 1867 the additions include such significant items as Chatham's opinion on the Quebec Act, the Seventh Report on

Grievances, Baldwin's letters to Glenelg and to Durham on responsible government, a group of letters and despatches from the *Bagot papers*, the annexation manifesto of 1849, the Clergy Reserves and Seigniorial Tenures Acts of 1854, Galt's views on federation and on fiscal autonomy in 1858-9. The added documents on the federation period include the coalition agreement of 1864, the Quebec resolutions of the same year, and the Westminster Palace Hotel resolutions of 1866 about whose supposed inaccessibility some of the champions of "Maritime Rights" a few years ago were so sensitive.

The section on the period since 1867 has been expanded fivefold. For the years covered by the first edition there have been added several items having reference to the expansion of the Dominion, Edward Blake's opinions on the office of governor-general and on the prerogative of mercy, and documents concerning the appointment of a high commissioner, the treaty-making power, and the nature and constitution of imperial conferences. The development of nationhood during and since the Great War is now adequately illustrated by the inclusion of the significant documents down to the report of the conference of 1929 on the operation of Dominion legislation and merchant shipping legislation. An appendix appropriately furnishes the revised text of the covenant of the League of Nations and the declaration of 1919 affirming the eligibility of the British dominions to membership in the council of the League.

In matters of editorial detail the volume has been brought up to date and noticeably improved. References to recent important books have been included in the introductory notes and in the footnotes. The analytical list of contents, so full as almost to constitute a calendar of the documents, is retained, while the use of the work for reference is now also greatly facilitated by the addition of an index, which is topical as well as nominal and refers to authorities cited as well as to the subject-matter of the documents. In format the new edition shows marked improvement over the old, having been entirely re-set and printed in England at the Clarendon Press. Slips of any sort are virtually absent. According to strict chronological order, Bagot's private letter to Stanley of September 26, 1842, (no. cxxxviii), should follow his confidential despatch of the same date (no. cxxxix). The date of number clxxxvi is wrong in the list of contents though correct in the text.

Nobody, be he student or statesman, who is seriously interested in the constitutional history or problems of Canada or of the Empire, can afford to be without this volume at his elbow.

REGINALD G. TROTTER

*The Coming of the White Man, 1492-1848.* By HERBERT INGRAM PRIESTLEY. (*A History of American Life*, volume 1.) Toronto: The Macmillan Company of Canada. 1929. Pp. xx, 411. (\$4.75.)

THE editors of the series here mentioned cannot be highly commended on their choice of titles. The general title, *A history of American life*, suggests a subject of much wider scope than the United States, to which the series is almost exclusively confined. No doubt the editors felt that they were making only one more small concession to the inexorable force of common usage. There is less excuse for the title of Mr. Priestley's volume. Few readers, we imagine, would expect to find a discussion of the Spanish, French, and Dutch colonies in North America. However, the objection is not, perhaps, a serious one, especially as the quality of the book is much better than the choice of the title.

New Spain properly receives the most attention, although one might raise a question as to the proportions of space allotted: 209 pages to the Spanish empire, 81 to the French, and 60 to the Dutch and Swedish settlements. Three chapters are given to the French empire, the third dealing with the settlements on the lower reaches of the Mississippi. Mr. Priestley's purpose is not primarily to supply a narrative. He aims rather to describe how culture and institutions, transferred from European countries to the New World, developed under the pressure of a changed environment. In keeping with the purpose of the series, the emphasis is everywhere on the institutions and the social and economic characteristics of the French communities. The land system and agriculture, government, policy towards the Indians, the influence and aims of the church, the everyday life of the people, all receive attention. The importance of the French West Indies might have warranted a little more space. French exploration suffers in comparison with Spanish exploration by being treated much too briefly, and too little weight is given to the influence of geography on the French. For example, the impression left by such a sentence as the following is not adequately corrected: "The English, feeling no strong missionary impulse, still kept near the coast when the French had reached Georgian Bay" (p. 222). Exception might also be taken to the statement that La Vérendrye saw the Rockies in 1743 (p. 216). Mr. Priestley's volume is, however, well worth the attention of Canadian students. The many comparisons between the various European colonies are a valuable feature of the book, especially as historians have been far too much disposed to study the colonies of some one nation rather than colonial America as a whole.

GEORGE W. BROWN

*The Forts of Chignecto: A study of the eighteenth century conflict between France and Great Britain in Acadia.* By JOHN CLARENCE WEBSTER. Saint John, N.B.: Rapid-Grip Limited, 59 Water Street, Saint John. 1930. Pp. 142, iv. (\$5.00.)

FOR some years Dr. J. C. Webster has devoted his leisure to the collection of documentary material dealing with the history of that disputed boundary of Acadia which was the scene of conflict between France and England in the years immediately preceding the outbreak of the Seven Years' War. The fruit of this research is now published under the title of *The Forts of Chignecto*, the purpose of which, to quote the modest declaration of the author, is "an endeavour to give a short survey of the important and stirring events of the past, of which the old Forts of Chignecto will ever be a reminder." It may be said at once that students of the period covered by this survey have reason to be grateful to Dr. Webster for the thoroughness with which he has carried out a laborious task. The events which occurred at Fort Beauséjour in 1755 were minor episodes in the eighteenth-century struggle for colonial supremacy in North America, but, if we except the picturesque remains of Port Royal and the green pastures of Grand Pré, there is no terrain in the old French colony of Acadia which inspires such memories as the Isthmus of Chignecto. The siege of Beauséjour was a prologue to the Seven Years' War. There the inter-play of motives and policies which determined the fate of a continent was rehearsed as it were on a miniature stage. Among the inmates of the fort one may discern both the weakness and strength of France in the last half of the eighteenth century. Corruption and avarice are embodied in Vergor, the commandant, a pupil of Bigot, who was not reluctant to follow the example and advice of his master to make the most of his opportunity for peculation. The colonizing spirit, which burned but feebly in the breasts of the official and military classes, is personified in the sinister figure of Le Loutre, the indefatigable priest, whose determination to build a new French province behind the battlements of Beauséjour brought a train of misfortunes on the Acadian peasants. Hardly less interesting are the leaders of the British and colonial forces: Monckton, who was afterwards to enhance his military reputation at Quebec, and Lawrence, who as governor of Nova Scotia became the instrument of a bitter judgment on the French inhabitants of the province. Such characters as these, and the events of which they were a part, are deserving of detailed study. Dr. Webster is not the first to seek to recapture the vivid life of this period of Canadian history, but he has provided us unquestionably with a most complete and authoritative study of the documentary sources at present available. His book is valuable both for that portion of it which is devoted to

historical narrative, and also because of the wealth of documentary data in the form of journals, reports, and correspondence which is included in a voluminous appendix. Of particular interest are the journal of Monckton which was discovered only recently in the Royal Library at Windsor, and a reproduction of the De Meulles map of Chignecto, both of which are now published for the first time in America. In addition to the documents included in the appendix, the text is profusely illustrated with portraits, maps, and sketches which are not only ornamental but of real assistance in reconstructing the events which are described in the narrative. Students of Acadian history will also be indebted to Dr. Webster for the collection of biographical sketches which describe in detail the careers of the more prominent military officers and officials whose reputations were won or lost on the Isthmus of Chignecto.

NORMAN McL. ROGERS

*The Loyalists of Massachusetts: Their Memorials, Petitions and Claims.*

By E. ALFRED JONES. London: The Saint Catherine Press; Boston: Goodspeed's Book Shop. 1930. Pp. xxiv, 341; illustrations. (\$15.00.)

SINCE the appearance of the important book by Lorenzo Sabine, in 1864, entitled *Biographical sketches of Loyalists of the American Revolution*, various valuable works on the Loyalists have been published. Prominent among these may be mentioned the *Second report of the Bureau of Archives for the Province of Ontario* (1905), describing the inquiry into the losses and services of the Loyalists, conducted by the British commissioners, Colonel Thomas Dundas and Mr. Jeremy Pemberton, in Canada during the period 1785 to 1789. Equally important is the *Report of the Royal Commission on American Loyalists' claims (1783-1785)*, edited by H. E. Egerton for the Roxburghe Club in 1915. In 1910, James H. Stark, an American writer, published a book, entitled, *The Loyalists of Massachusetts*, consisting mainly of an interesting introductory essay, a series of biographical sketches, and other data. The present work, with a title similar to that of Stark's volume, is entirely composed of biographies. The author, Mr. Alfred Jones, is well qualified to write on this subject, and has already written a book dealing with the Loyalists of New Jersey. The groundwork of his investigations is found in original documents, now in the Public Record Office and the Audit Office in London, but his references extend to many other sources of information. His work bears the stamp of thoroughness, and, because of the great number of these detailed references, is invaluable to those who may desire to pursue further inquiries.

The book is printed with great care. The text is not crowded but is

arranged in short paragraphs, thus making it easy to read. A most valuable feature is the collection of fifty-four plates with portraits of personages described in the text. In most instances the names of the artists who painted them are given, as well as the present owners of the originals.

J. C. WEBSTER

*Captain James Cook, R.N.: One Hundred and Fifty Years After.* By SIR JOSEPH CARRUTHERS. London: John Murray. 1930. Pp. xx, 316.

SIR JOSEPH CARRUTHERS has done much to stimulate interest in the life and work of Captain James Cook. Since it became known that he was entering the lists on the captain's behalf, the advent of this book has been anxiously awaited. A careful reading and re-reading of it leaves with this reviewer a feeling of intense disappointment. Not that Sir Joseph has not made out his case, but that neither in form nor in substance does the volume measure up to the high standard of scholarship which the subject demands. Incidentally it shows how difficult it is for an avowed admirer to be an impartial judge.

The book is intended to dispel the unfavourable opinion of Captain Cook which, to a limited extent, exists in the United States and the Hawaiian Islands. To that end Sir Joseph takes up, one by one, the common charges and, in our opinion, meets them successfully. In detail he shows: that Cook did not knowingly permit himself to be worshipped as the god Lono; that he was not guilty of sacrilege in taking away the fence from the temple; that he had no improper relations with the daughter of the high priestess at Kauai; and that he was not responsible for the introduction of venereal disease into the Hawaiian Islands. Numerous repetitions and much irrelevant matter, e.g., the first forty-four pages, pad out the work; whilst the appendix of twenty pages seems to have no real connection with the main purpose of the book.

The result is a disjointed and discursive production. Some of the charges discussed have been dealt with in published books and articles. From these the author quotes extensively: chapters 9, 13, and 17 are largely composed of extracts from Ellis's *Narrative*, Zimmermann's *Cook*, and Samwell's *Observations*. There is little evidence of research amongst manuscript sources. Statements, now recognized by all students of Cook as incorrect, have been accepted and used without the slightest effort to verify them; and thus some lamentable errors have crept into the work. Of these, that regarding John Ledyard is at once the most glaring and the least justifiable. Sir Joseph alleges that the unfavourable opinion concerning Captain Cook is largely attributable to the publica-

tion in America and in London in 1781 of the accounts of John Ledyard. The fundamental error is that John Ledyard never, in 1781 nor at any other time, published an account of Cook's voyage in England. Our author, however, attacks him as being the person who wrote the anonymous journal, published in London in 1781. This merely shows that he has accepted without scrutiny the statement in Hocking's *Bibliography of New Zealand*. The most cursory investigation would have shown the error, for Ledyard was on the *Resolution* whilst the unknown writer was on the *Discovery*. It is the opinion of this reviewer (see *Washington Historical Quarterly*, VII, 51-58) that the journal should be charged to Lieutenant John Rickman. In any event, it is certain that the author was not John Ledyard. This fundamental error not only unjustifiably stigmatizes Ledyard but also causes contradictions in the text and leads Sir Joseph into many quagmires from which he strives to extricate himself by explanatory, but contradictory, footnotes: compare page 80 with the note on page 86.

Some of the statements in quotation marks, as on page 54, cannot be identified, whilst others, as on pages 159 and 160, are not quoted accurately. The volume is well printed. It has a really good index and some sixteen fine illustrations.

F. W. HOWAY

*Sir James Douglas and British Columbia.* By WALTER N. SAGE. Toronto: The University of Toronto Press. 1930. Pp. 308.

THIS study of the life and times of Sir James Douglas, which is a thesis for a doctorate, is the first attempt to deal with him as a man rather than as an administrator. It is proverbially difficult to separate the man from the official. The earlier lives and sketches of Douglas's career have buried the man under his work—have treated him merely as a peg on which to hang forty years of the history of the Pacific coast.

The author settles definitely the date and place of Douglas's birth as being June 5, 1803, in Lanarkshire, Scotland, and not, as has been frequently stated, August 14, 1803, in either British Guiana or Jamaica. He shows us the little Douglas attending school in Lanark, and, later, as a boy in his teens sailing for Canada to enter the service of the North West Company.

There is a great paucity of biographical material for the first sixteen years, 1819-1835, of Douglas's life in *les pays d'en haut*. All that can at present be found has been carefully sought out, brought together, and pieced out with tradition or family report, gathered from the lips of his descendants. It is doubtful if the information given by Mr. Sage, or his conclusions thereon, will ever be materially altered or supple-

mented, unless contemporary records of the two companies or letters of his early associates, come to light—a prospect of annually diminishing probability. In these circumstances Mr. Sage has followed the justifiable—in fact, the only—course of indicating what was the condition as shown by the journals of other fur-traders, and what, in consequence, were probably Douglas's surroundings, occupations, and interests. If any criticism can be made of this section it is that sometimes the author has yielded to the temptation of travelling rather far afield.

Mr. Sage points out the natural division of Douglas's life into quinquennial periods: 1820-1825, at Isle à la Crosse; 1825-1830, in New Caledonia; 1830-1835, on the Columbia as a subordinate; 1835-1840 and 1840-1845, in the same region, first as chief trader and, later, as chief factor with Dr. McLoughlin. His rise in the service, it is clearly shown, was due to his own abilities and not to his being the son-in-law of Chief Factor William Connolly. He had early learned that "obedience is the bond of rule." In this connection we catch a glimpse, through some extracts from his letters, of the way in which he carried his principles into the service: always demanding what he had always given—implicit, immediate, complete, and unquestioning obedience and proper respect to superiors.

We are given a fine picture of the two giants of the Columbia—McLoughlin and Douglas—markedly different in nature and in disposition, yet mutually supplementary. During this period of association with McLoughlin, it is only now and again that anything can be seen of the real Douglas—the man, Douglas. Visitors to Fort Vancouver filled their diaries and letters with descriptions of the Great White Eagle, but of the stalwart Scot, his nominal first lieutenant but in reality his equal, they left but brief mention. Our author makes it clear that, as the years went by and McLoughlin's quarrel with Sir George Simpson became more bitter, and his troubles with the settlers grew more acrimonious, McLoughlin learned to consult with Douglas, to rely upon, and to be guided by, his cool, comprehensive judgment. In this period we see Douglas trying his 'prentice hand at diplomacy, arranging the terms of trade with Alvarado, and coqueting with the possibility of taking up his residence in California, then a part of Mexico. We see him, too, steering a careful course in relation to the provisional government of Oregon, and effecting an understanding with that body, as the best means of protecting the interests of the Hudson's Bay Company.

After the resignation of Dr. McLoughlin, Douglas became the actual head of the company on the Pacific coast. On the formation of the colony of Vancouver Island and, later, of the colony of British Columbia he, as the man of the hour, rose to the governorship of both

—the short régime of Blanshard in the former colony being of no real moment. In this portion Mr. Sage has been able to add but little to our knowledge of the man, though he gives a full and accurate view of the early days of those colonies.

The work shows in each chapter painstaking search for, and use of, every scrap of information to be found in the letters, diaries, entries, and journals of the time. In the opinion of this reviewer it must be regarded as the definitive life of Douglas, at any rate until such time as the records of the Hudson's Bay Company are made available to the public. The concise list of authorities in the appendix scarcely does justice to the great amount of material that has been examined and used. The book is well printed, free from grave typographical errors, and contains a real index.

F. W. HOWAY

*Early Assiniboine Trading Posts of the Souris-Mouth Group, 1785-1832.*

By DAVID A. STEWART. (Historical and Scientific Society of Manitoba, transaction no. 5, new series.) Historical and Scientific Society of Manitoba. July, 1930. Pp. 40; maps and illustrations.

THIS publication deals with a feature of early western history which steadily gains in importance, namely, the exact sites of early fur-trading posts. In this case, the posts are those which may be regarded as the forerunners of the city of Brandon, and their history is very involved. So many sites were established, abandoned, and re-established, extending over several miles of the Assiniboine River, that much study is now required for elucidation. While Dr. Stewart bases his account largely on quotations from the writings of early traders, he has, himself, done valuable work on the ground, and in this he has the great advantage of living in the district about which he writes.

The author commences with the *Account* and the *Journal*, published by Masson, of John Macdonell who went up the river in 1793, and he quotes much from that *Journal*. Unfortunately, he follows Masson's mis-spelling of that trader's name. References are then made to many other early writings, and comments are made on the various available descriptions of the different establishments. The X Y Company, Selkirk colonization, pemmican war, and the régime of Governor Simpson, as those persons and events had influence on the changes in the posts, are all passed under critical review, and the record of the sites is thus carried forward to the year 1832 when Brandon House was finally closed. Some small maps, illustrations of sites, and sketches of remains—the last due to excellent work by Mr. Tyrrell—enhance the value of a publication which marks a distinct advance on our knowledge of the locality.

Where so many dates and events are dealt with, a few slips and inaccuracies have naturally occurred. A more important point is concerned with the identification of the site of the first Brandon House. Remains of three posts, all within one quarter section, have been found about two miles above the mouth of the Souris River, and the remains of one post about six miles above the mouth. Dr. Stewart adopts the higher site as that of the first post, but it really was one of the three lower posts, the other two being the Grant Company post under Ronald Cameron, and the North West Company post under Auge (or Auger, as the name should probably be spelled).

Exception might be taken to what seems to be an uncalled-for slight on the land title of the Selkirk settlers, which the author refers to as "a bit of paper signed in London", and which he seems to think should not have "given rights over men who had explored the region, and toiled and starved in it for nearly half a century." The comparison between the two classes of men is unfortunate. The settlers individually toiled and starved in defence of their title as much as any of the traders, and for at least as good a cause.

The work contains many quotations of paragraphs from other writers, these standing out prominently among the author's own accounts. Such a method is open to question. It adds complexity to an already very complex subject, and the reader is jarred by the constant change of person who is addressing him. Moreover, it is a mistake to believe that a reader can assimilate isolated paragraphs unless he is familiar with the work from which they are quoted, in which case he does not need such long quotations at all. The better course would seem to be that the author should tell the story throughout in his own words, and be very sparing in verbal quotation.

J. N. WALLACE

*The Backwoods of Canada: Being Letters from the Wife of an Emigrant Officer, illustrative of the Domestic Economy of British America.* By CATHARINE PARR TRAILL. Introduction by EDWARD S. CASWELL. Toronto: McClelland and Stewart. 1929. Pp. 377.

As Mrs. Traill's valuable description of Canada has not been reprinted since 1846, there is ample justification for this enlarged edition. Of interest among its new features are the introduction which contains a good biographical sketch of the author, material regarding the rebellion of 1837 and "bush" weddings (pp. 320-347), illustrations by Mr. Owen Staples, a frontispiece showing Mrs. Traill in her ninety-eighth year, and a bibliography of her writings.

The text of Mrs. Traill's book has been reprinted from a volume con-

taining corrections and additions in her own handwriting. The changes are numerous. In the early editions Mrs. Traill wrote that "when the weather" was fine she sat on a bench on the deck, but in the latest edition this is rendered "except when the weather is fine" (p. 29). Fourteen very interesting but unflattering lines describing the "old settlers" have been omitted (p. 103), although similar descriptions may be found in other writings of the thirties and Mrs. Traill was probably correct in her first impressions. The town of Peterborough, we are told in the new edition (p. 106), might "be considered as the capital of the district", when the Newcastle district is meant, as the early editions stated. Reference to the very low taxation in Upper Canada is omitted (p. 119), although that was one of the arguments for migration to Upper Canada. Minor alterations abound, too numerous for mention: such as changes in spelling, "raccoons" (p. 49) for "racoons" in the earlier editions, "moccasin" (p. 109) for "mocassin", etc., and the addition of the botanical, to the popular, names of flowers. Some errors of proof-reading have crept in, such as "scarcely" (p. 22) for "sacredly", and "M'Grevey" (p. 55) for "M'Gregor", the author of *British America*.

Students of history would be well advised to use an early edition for reference when reading the *Backwoods of Canada*, for many descriptions in this later edition are coloured by the writer's knowledge gained after publishing the first edition. The general reader, however, should go to the new edition with its excellent introduction, illustrations, and printing.

J. J. TALMAN

*British Colonial Policy in the Age of Peel and Russell.* By W. P. MORRELL.

Oxford: At the Clarendon Press. 1930. Pp. xii, 554. (\$7.50.)  
THIS is one of the best books so far written on colonial policy. It is marked throughout by painstaking research, thoroughness, and a discerning judgment. The author has selected the years from 1841 to 1852, has stepped into the office of the colonial secretary, and has studied from that point of vantage the problems of each of the more important colonies in turn. In his preface Mr. Morrell says: "One result of the general method I have adopted has perhaps been to lay me open to the charge of looking at the history of the colonies through the eyes of Governors and Secretaries of State. . . . I might perhaps plead in extenuation of the offence that what Governors and Secretaries of State believed to be true had often as much influence upon policy as what was actually true . . . and it is the point of view and policy of the Imperial Government that I have been most anxious to understand." The criticism immediately suggested on reading such a statement is that,

while that attitude is excellent for exposition of policy, it is inadequate for appreciation and criticism. A careful reading of the book, however, reveals the fact that the author is remarkably well-informed in regard to the internal history of the various colonies, and that, in addition to a most careful and penetrating study of the mass of Colonial Office papers —no mean task in itself—he has made frequent and discriminating use of other sources.

Throughout the book there is a penetrating appreciation of the personal factors as seen in the characters of such men as Peel, Stanley, Russell, Stephen, Lord Grey, Sir George Grey, and Elgin. Substantial justice is rendered to Wakefield. Molesworth comes into the story frequently and does not receive a very sympathetic treatment. The real hero of the book is Lord Grey. In the face of such an illuminating treatment of this statesman, his problems, and his policies, it may seem ungracious to suggest that at times the tone is somewhat too apologetic. Grey's greatness as a colonial secretary is abundantly apparent without the author placing himself in the position of counsel for the defence, as he does on several occasions and particularly in one of his most valuable chapters, that on "Lord Grey and the colonial reformers." The final judgments on Grey are, however, well balanced and convincing, and the book closes with a powerful chapter on "the imperial ideas of Lord Grey and his place in imperial history."

In the chapters on Canada there is little that is new, but the generalizations are penetrating and the treatment is marked by an accuracy which one rarely finds in the work of a writer who is not a Canadian by birth or adoption. In the study of the other colonies a great deal of new ground is broken. Apart altogether from colonial policy, very valuable contributions are made to the history of the West Indies, New Zealand, South Africa, and Australia. The book contains such a wealth of detail that it cannot be satisfactorily summarized. Every student of imperial history or of the history of any of the British colonies will want to read it from cover to cover. A work so well done affords inspiration as well as illumination to all who are working in the historical field.

CHESTER W. NEW

*In the Shadow of the Rockies.* By C. M. MACINNES. London: Rivingtons. 1930. Pp. viii, 347.

IN spite of its somewhat sentimental title, this book is a serious study of the early history of southern Alberta, which is well written, well documented, and equipped with a good (though not complete) bibliography, portraits, and maps. Writing at the request of the local Old Timers'

Association, Professor MacInnes gives us a sufficient description of the country; a good account of the early forts and of early travellers; a just and sympathetic discussion of the Indians, who are "the real people of Alberta"; an account of the end of company rule, and a vivid picture of the lawless years that followed; the story of the police, in the style we have been schooled to expect; and an outline of the coming of an educational system and of provincial status. The author is at his best in treating of the economic life of this part of the west, and his account of early transportation, of railways, settlement, agriculture, and of the rise and decline of the ranching industry in its various branches, is the most careful and satisfactory which has yet been published. For fuller discussion of these matters, and for the more intimate and penetrating treatment of pioneer life which we are, perhaps, entitled to expect to-day, we could gladly have spared the space devoted to political affairs which can scarcely be held to belong especially to the history of southern Alberta.

Many notes could be written on Professor MacInnes's book, but a few only can be given here. The Assiniboine River is not near Edmonton (p. 43), but the fort of that name is; Father Lacombe founded the mission at St. Albert, not that at Lac Ste. Anne (p. 268); Coalman appears for Coleman (p. 264); Cardstone for Cardston, in the index; Marten for Martin (pp. 58, 59); lines for lands (p. 189); and Mardan for Mandan (p. 25). If Palliser's report discouraged settlement (p. 248), it ought, in fairness to Palliser, to be added that within recent years settlement had to be withdrawn at heavy cost to the public, and after many heartbreaking experiences of individuals, from the triangle on which he reported adversely.

The oddest omission of the book is that Blakiston is given only accidental mention. Yet Blakiston carried out an independent exploration of the Kootenay passes, and has left us his narrative, and his maps. The reason for this strange omission, however, cannot be discussed here.

D. E. CAMERON

*The Story of Canada.* By GEORGE M. WRONG, CHESTER MARTIN and WALTER N. SAGE. Toronto: The Ryerson Press. 1929. Pp. xii, 377.

*The Romance of the Prairie Provinces.* By A. L. BURT. Toronto: W. J. Gage and Company. 1930. Pp. viii, 262.

*With Sword and Trowel.* Edited by W. STEWART WALLACE. Toronto: The Macmillan Company of Canada. 1930. Pp. xii, 206.

THE charge that school textbooks dealing with Canadian history are dull and inadequate has been made so frequently in recent years in the press

and from the platform that there is a real danger of having it accepted and repeated in an almost stereotyped form. The criticism constitutes in the minds of many people almost a general indictment of Canadian historians who are represented as soulless and unimaginative, while radio dramatists and other purveyors of pseudo-historical entertainment claim the honours as the preservers of the "romance" of the Dominion's story. It is now generally admitted that history for boys and girls should be predominantly social, but the difficulty of writing books of restricted size for immature students while preserving at the same time some regard for historical truth and some appreciation of great movements is not so often recognized. School texts cannot be rewritten in a day to suit changing needs or to incorporate the recent findings of historical scholars, but the process of revision does go on. That it is going on in Canada as elsewhere may be clearly seen in the books mentioned above as well as in other volumes issued in recent years.

*The story of Canada* with its charming end papers, its clear type, and the fine drawings done by Mr. C. W. Jefferys is an attractive volume. Mr. Wrong tells the story of the eastern and central provinces. The early wars, the British conquest, the principal political and constitutional facts are given and treated as simply as possible. Mr. Martin's account of the Prairie Provinces is written with equal directness, and being less hampered by constitutional details the story has even more verve and colour. Mr. Sage writes of British Columbia somewhat more in the traditional textbook style but still simply and attractively with the weight always on the story. All three have managed to produce rather the effect of biography, so that the book is a *life* of Canada rather than a textbook in history.

Professor Burt's book is also excellent for its purpose. The story makes an appeal because of the clarity and simplicity with which it is told.

Teachers and pupils with an interest in history should welcome *With sword and trowel*. It is a book of readings chosen from the sources of Canadian history to illustrate the high points of Canada's story from Columbus and the Norsemen to the Great War. In his introduction Mr. Wallace mentions the difficulty of selecting from the wealth of material available. Tastes and requirements will, naturally, differ, but the selection made is generally happy from the point of view of the reading ability of the pupils. The quaint language, the descriptions of strange customs, the accounts of incidents by participants in the events, should give numbers of boys and girls a new taste for the study of history.

DONALDA J. DICKIE

*The Winning of the Frontier.* By EDMUND H. OLIVER. Toronto: The United Church Publishing House. 1930. Pp. xii, 271. (\$1.00.)

THERE is more Canadian church history in this volume of 271 pages than has ever before been placed between two covers. In respect to its range this book marks a departure in the writing of the religious history of Canada. It is really the story of Canadian Christianity. The plan adopted enables the author to escape the limitations of the denominational historian, and to view the whole horizon. Nor is the subject-matter narrowly religious. Dr. Oliver fully realizes the interaction of religious with political and social movements, and his work will have to be reckoned with by those students of Canadian history who have hitherto assumed that religion enters into the story only in the French régime, in the discussion of the clergy reserves, and in certain educational controversies. Here religion is seen to have been an energizing factor in every phase of the life of the Canadian people.

For Dr. Oliver the winning of the frontier has been the dominant motive in the religious history of Canada, and the whole book is an elaboration of this theme. Some readers, familiar with the "frontier" theory of the history of the United States, may be prepared to find that the thesis is overworked. The present reviewer can only state his hearty accord with the author's main position. The Canadian churches cannot, in the least degree, be understood as mere projections of the communions of the Old World from which they sprang. Their course has been mainly shaped by a frontier environment. In one or two particulars, however, one could wish that Dr. Oliver had given some consideration to other agencies than the demands of the frontier in setting the trend of religious development. Perhaps, for example, the British policy of toleration toward the Roman Catholics of Quebec owed something to the fact that certain British statesmen of the late eighteenth century had been nurtured in the principles of the enlightenment.

Five chapters are devoted to Roman Catholicism in the French period, and the treatment is as generous in spirit as in space. The resistance, delay, and disaster that attended the heroic efforts of the French missionaries to the Indians are vividly illustrated in well-chosen quotations. The spell of the frontier, something not identical with religious devotion, was upon these pioneers. "All who serve there with true zeal", wrote Christian Le Clercq, "avow that there is a secret charm that binds them to the task." All the important issues in religion in the later period of Canadian history are examined in the light of the frontier interpretation. In the treatment of the subject of religious equality Bishop Strachan comes off badly, but if Anglicans are wounded

let them turn for comfort to the paragraphs on Bishop Bompas. McCulloch and Ryerson are given deserved prominence as the leading champions of what have since become the accepted ideals of religious freedom and educational fair play in Canada. One misses, it is true, an adequate consideration of the Baptists. A future edition should indicate clearly their part in the movement for equality, particularly in Nova Scotia. Of the new west Dr. Oliver speaks with the familiarity of experience; his interests here sometimes lead him from history to wise exhortation. The book as a whole is written in a lucid and vivid style and with a fine mastery of essentials. The proof-reading has been well done; but a line has been misplaced on page 239, and on page 8 the following howler gets by: "Twenty-five [of Cartier's men] died. Their situation was desperate."

JOHN T. MCNEILL

*The Life of John Travers Lewis, D.D., First Archbishop of Ontario.* By ADA LEIGH LEWIS. London: Skeffington & Son, Ltd. [1930.] Pp. xix, 140. (5s.)

THIS little book appears appropriately in the year in which has been held the seventh conference at Lambeth of the bishops of the Anglican communion throughout the world. The subject of it, as the authoress shows, bore no small part in persuading Archbishop Longley to summon the first of these for the year 1867. She does not, however, point out, as she might have done, that her husband was, unintentionally perhaps, the cause of the title of archbishop being multiplied from one, as was originally intended, to four (as at present) in Canada, and of its being adopted consequently in other parts of the overseas Empire. Nor does she detail the circumstances attending his assumption of that title in accordance with the account to which currency was given in 1893, contemporaneously with the fact.

Notwithstanding this and other omissions, with some mistakes and inaccuracies, Mrs. Lewis does present that highly desirable thing, an exceedingly good picture of her archbishop as a prelate and as a man. This is happily supplemented by her only surviving stepson, Mr. Clement Sherwood Lewis, in "A causerie of early days", which forms appendix A. This portion of the book, which is quite amusing, shows the archbishop to have been keenly interested in promoting the physical and material well-being of Canada and to have possessed influence which enabled him to do it effectively.

To one of the inaccuracies, which occurs three times in the book, Sir Gilbert Parker, in his foreword, and the archbishop of Nova Scotia, in his prefatory note, lend the weight of their authority. Dr. Lewis was

never "Primate of All Canada", but only of Canada—the old ecclesiastical province, which, from 1864 to 1912, consisted of all the dioceses in Ontario, Quebec, and the Maritime Provinces.

Among the inaccuracies and the mistakes only two more ought to be mentioned. On page 71, the late Mr. Fennings Taylor's well-known book, *The last three bishops appointed by the crown for the Anglican Church of Canada*, is made into "The best three . . ." In treating of the negotiations between the two ecclesiastical provinces of Canada and Rupert's Land for the formation of the general synod in the years 1890-1893, Mrs. Lewis makes it appear that it was the "Synods of Upper and Lower Canada" which were in question—two bodies which never existed.

To recapitulate: John Travers Lewis is important in the ecclesiastical history of Canada because of his effectiveness as a parish priest at Hawkesbury and at Brockville; his advocacy of the rights of clergy in the colony to look for advancement to bishops' sees as against appointees from the British Isles; his being elected in 1861 as the first bishop of the then new diocese of Ontario; his being the last Canadian prelate but one to be consecrated under a royal mandamus and the first to be consecrated in British North America itself; his establishing a boys' school at Picton; his extending the work of his diocese to such an extent that out of it the diocese of Ottawa had to be erected in 1896; his becoming, by election of his fellow-bishops, in January, 1893, "Metropolitan of Canada" in succession to Bishop Medley of Fredericton; his assumption in that capacity, in the autumn of that year, of the title of archbishop of Ontario and primate of Canada; his helping to bring about the formation of the general synod of his church; and his contributing to the summoning of the first Lambeth Conference.

A. H. YOUNG

*The Book of St. Andrew's: A short history of St. Andrew's Presbyterian Church, Toronto.* By the Rev. STUART C. PARKER. Toronto: Published by the Centenary Committee of the Congregation. 1930. Pp. 142.

CENTENARY celebrations have ceased to be a novelty in Ontario, but these celebrations are often marred by a lack of appropriate historical data. *The book of St. Andrew's* provides a welcome contrast, which will interest especially all students of the local history of Toronto. The amount of research and the quantity of material conned over must have been considerable to produce such a complete account of the church since its inception in 1830, and to compress it into less than a hundred and fifty pages. Portraits of the ministers and of many lay workers, both men and women, add greatly to the value of the book. For purposes of

reference it would have been much improved by the addition of an index.

As with all similar works touching on the early days of York, now Toronto, the records of the beginnings of St. Andrew's are scanty and frequent gaps are inevitable. But Dr. Parker has done well with the material at his disposal and he has produced a well-constructed and graphic story. He displays, too, for so recent an arrival, a rare grasp of conditions from fifty to one hundred years ago. Of particular value and interest to the general reader is the clear, concise, and wisely-restrained exposition of the much-vexed question of church union, the reasons for and against it, and its failure to include finally so many of the Presbyterian body.

The book is admirably printed and the proof-reading well done. Some slight errors may be detected: Bolton for Boulton Street (p. 56), which was named for the well-known Toronto family of the Grange; the statement (p. 5) that the court house faced Church Street and the gaol faced Toronto Street is incorrect as contemporary pictures show that they fronted on Court House Square, King Street. On page 58 it is stated that the people of substance in Toronto in the seventies lived south of King Street and between Bay and Simcoe Streets. But by that time residences had been built westward on Wellington Street, on Jarvis and Sherbourne Streets, and even on St. George Street and in Queen's Park, while Beverley Street and the adjacent property had long been an exclusive district. Many old families of substance continued to reside in mansions on Duke and Duchess and the adjoining streets which formed part of the original town.

Other churches may well take pattern by this book, and, as their centennial anniversaries come around, endeavour to compile their records so that those who come after may rise up and call them blessed. St. James' Cathedral, Knox Church, the first Methodist meeting-house, and St. Paul's Roman Catholic Church, all antedate St. Andrew's. Of St. Paul's only has an adequate history been written. Robertson's *Landmarks of Toronto*, volume IV, and Champion's *Methodist churches of Toronto* bring the history of Toronto's churches down to about 1900, but much has happened since then.

T. A. REED

*Canada's Fighting Airmen.* By Lieutenant-Colonel GEORGE A. DREW.

Toronto: The MacLean Publishing Company. 1930. Pp. 305.  
(\$5.00.)

LIEUTENANT-COLONEL DREW has done an excellent public service in the writing of his book, *Canada's fighting airmen*, published by the MacLean

Publishing Company of Toronto. One can understand that an embarrassment of riches in the way of material confronted him when he sat down to tell the story of those Canadians who brought fame to themselves and their country in those memorable years of war. But he has used that material admirably, and one cannot read these pages without a quickening of the pulse and a kindling of the imagination. What a record of achievement by young Canadians we have in these pages! Bishop, Collishaw, Barker, MacLaren—these names and many others should not be lightly forgotten. Only one German, Richtenhofen, and one Frenchman, Fonck, destroyed more enemy planes than Bishop, and the four men mentioned had a greater number of victories to their credit than had any similar group in the whole of the allied forces.

Colonel Drew indicates in striking fashion what an enormous advance was made during the four years of the war in aeronautics. On August 4, 1914, two hundred and seventy-two British aeroplanes were available for military service; and, when the guns ceased firing on November 11, 1918, there were twenty-two thousand, one hundred and seventy-one. At the beginning of the War there were two hundred and fifty officers in the air force; at the finish, more than thirty thousand. Many facts such as these are to be found scattered through the book, so that, although we cannot regard this as a complete history of Canada's participation in the war in the air, there is much in the volume of interest and value to the historical student. But the real service performed by Colonel Drew was for the general reader, and the importance of it should not be underestimated. He has made clear the magnitude of Canada's contribution to the war in the air, and has given a vivid and, on the whole, accurate picture of what was before only vaguely defined in the public mind.

MARTIN BURRELL

*Adventure.* By Major-General the Rt. Hon. J. E. B. SEELY. With an introduction by the Earl of BIRKENHEAD. London: William Heinemann, Ltd. 1930. Pp. [xiv.] 326. (\$6.00.)

GENERAL SEELY has had an unorthodox career, and the title of this volume of reminiscences is not undeserved. He has narrowly escaped death in many forms and in many countries; as a young man he travelled widely and adventurously; for a time he practised at the bar; he saw very active service in the South African War and the Great War; between them he rapidly became a prominent political figure in England, rising to the position of secretary of state for war. And yet, one leaves this book with a feeling of disappointment. General Seely has lived a full and vigorous life, but he never seems to escape from the limits and the

conventions of his class and training. He is one of those energetic, nonchalant, and courageous Englishmen who have done great deeds all over the globe without displaying much sensitiveness or subtlety and with no apparent doubts of their own right to command. He would have fitted in admirably as a captain under Sir Francis Drake or as the commander of one of Caesar's legions.

His book contains no "revelations", and adds to our knowledge almost nothing except illustrative anecdote. Though great figures constantly appear in his pages, and though he can write about Botha, Foch, French, Kitchener, Lord Birkenhead, Mr. Ramsay MacDonald, and Mr. Churchill as his intimate friends, he refrains almost without exception from analytical and critical comments on personalities, so that his characters have little vitality as he depicts them.

Only in the last third of the book are matters reached of direct Canadian interest. Seely, after some exciting months as a special service officer with Sir John French, was appointed to command the Canadian Cavalry Brigade on its formation in 1915, and retained this command until he was invalided from France in May, 1918. His account of these years contributes little to the history of the war, but it will doubtless prove of interest to those who served under him. His criticisms of the conduct of trench warfare will secure almost universal agreement; he thoroughly lived up to his doctrine that every commanding general should always make a careful personal reconnaissance before ordering an attack. General Seely clearly regards this part of his life as the summit of his career, and he dedicates his book in generous language to his comrades of the Canadian cavalry, of whose gallantry and endurance he speaks in the highest terms. A vivid description of the actions at the end of March and beginning of April, 1918, by which the German advance on Amiens was checked, is one of the most interesting passages in the book.

Yet one is forced to doubt General Seely's qualifications to write truthfully of war. He is too absorbed in it. He seems to like it too much. He believes in it as a school of character. One quotation will illustrate his limitations. He ends an attack on those who deplore the brutality of modern warfare with this resounding generalization: "War is as ennobling to the combatants as it is demoralizing to the onlookers" (p. 228). That a man with great experience of active warfare could commit himself to so forthright a statement is extraordinary. Perhaps we should be thankful that the exigencies of Irish politics prevented General Seely from being at the war office in August, 1914.

HUME WRONG

*The Intelligence Service within the Canadian Corps, 1914-1918.* By Major J. E. HAHN, D.S.O., M.C. Historical résumé by General Sir ARTHUR CURRIE. Foreword by Major-General J. H. MACBRIEN. Toronto: The Macmillan Company of Canada. 1930. Pp. xxii, 263. (\$3.50.)

MAJOR HAHN has succeeded admirably in his object which is to give, not a romantic interpretation of Intelligence activities during the war, but a straightforward and matter-of-fact account of the organization and growth of the various Intelligence units from battalion to corps headquarters. For this reason, his book will interest the civilian less than the soldier. As a training manual for cadets, it should be invaluable because of its close attention to practical detail. The author gives information about everything—from the preparation of a director board to the method of estimating the strength and intentions of the enemy prior to a major operation.

The reviewer, from personal contact with Canadian Intelligence during the battle of Vimy, can testify to the excellence of the system described by Major Hahn. It is, indeed, no exaggeration to say that the Intelligence Service of the Canadian corps was, on the whole, more efficient than that of any imperial corps. Owing to the unprejudiced and wise attitude of General Sir Arthur Currie, the establishment of Canadian Intelligence was rapidly increased as the value of this branch became evident. This was not so in the Imperial Army. To take one example: an imperial division had one Intelligence officer belonging to the Intelligence corps and attached to divisional headquarters. He had to fulfil all the duties which, in the Canadian corps, were divided between three officers: G.S.O. 2 (I); a G.S.O. 3 (I), and an Intelligence corps officer. The reviewer can speak from bitter experience of the disadvantages of the imperial system. The divisional Intelligence officer (imperial) had to spend most of the day in the line visiting observation posts, distributing maps and air photos. In the evening, he read and annotated photos, prepared maps, and, in busy times, spent nights in battalion headquarters examining prisoners or waiting for prisoners who sometimes materialized and sometimes did not.

What strikes one most forcibly in Major Hahn's account is the apparent lack of friction between corps H.Q. Intelligence and that of junior formations. In the imperial corps H.Q., the G.S.O. 2. (Intelligence) was very often a figure-head with no training at all in Intelligence and completely ignorant of the establishment of the enemy army. In short, he was a thorn in the flesh of his own and the divisional Intelligence officers, and a valuable ally to the German staff.

Major Hahn speaks feelingly of the senseless practice of unauthorized

persons who, on the strength of having once conjugated a German irregular verb, considered it their business to interfere with prisoners, thus nullifying the work of the trained officer and incidentally withholding information which, if immediately accessible, might have saved many lives. In the event of a future war, it would be advisable to impose drastic penalties on such inquisitive (and usually senior) officers.

There is one point on which Major Hahn does not, of course, give us any information. There is, I presume, a reserve of Intelligence officers, but it is doubtful if anything is being done to keep them in touch with modern developments by means of annual courses of training analogous to those offered to reserve officers of other arms. In the event of another war, recourse would be necessary to the usual last-minute methods and, as in the last war, much valuable time would be lost.

Major Hahn's book must have necessitated many arduous months of preparation, and he deserves much gratitude for the admirable way in which he has carried out his labour of love.

F. C. GREEN

*Changing Conditions of Imperial Defence: Essays on Military Geography.*

By Captain D. H. COLE. London: Sifton Praed and Co. 1930.  
Pp. vii, 183.

*Imperial Economy.* By Major R. J. WILKINSON. London: Sifton Praed and Co. 1930. Pp. viii, 131.

THESE little books are very elementary studies on the defence of the British Empire, written by military men, in terms of a possible "next war", and, while one may disagree with them, one cannot but admire the simplicity and the candour with which this question is discussed. Captain Cole's book is the more mature and more interesting to the general reader. In it, the author attempts to present simply and clearly some of the more important of the changing conditions which affect imperial defence and imperial solidarity, and, in doing so, he discusses such interesting topics as man power; material resources; the United States and sea power; France and Italy and sea power in the Mediterranean; Great Britain and the Indian Ocean; and Japan and the Pacific. After laying down as his fundamental premise that man power, in association with material resources and power of movement, is the basis of national defence, and that, to be effective, this man power should be concentrated and should be homogeneous in race, language, loyalties, and religion, and that it should possess technical skill in abundance, he considers the British Empire in the light of these requirements, and discusses present and potential strength and weakness. In this connection,

Canada's maximum future population is given as a hundred and seventy-nine millions, but as she will only have reached thirty-eight millions by 2000 A.D.—if the average annual increase of the past forty years is maintained—it seems unlikely that any of us will have much interest in the defence of the Empire when the hundred and seventy-nine million mark is reached. Another of his premises, or requirements, is the sharing of the burden of defence of the whole white commonwealth in proportion to the full ability of each part: the equal availability of the forces of defence, and the necessity for immediate and unanimous action in crisis. To the military man this is clearly desirable, but, in view of the attitude of the dominions on political and economic issues, it is not likely to be carried out.

The causes of the conflict between France and Italy in the Mediterranean, and the interests of Britain in that area are clearly and logically outlined. The chapter on Great Britain and the Indian Ocean, perhaps the most interesting in the book, gives one a new realization of how large India has bulked in British foreign policy, and forces one to question the advisability of any centralized direction of Canadian military resources by an imperial headquarters so weighted by consideration of the Indian Empire.

Major Wilkinson's book professes to deal with some of the major problems of imperial defence, and to be of interest not only to the general reader, but more especially to the military student. It follows, in the main, the same outline as that of Captain Cole, but it is even more elementary, and, in its form, is better adapted for boy scouts, and junior schools, than for adults. If it is typical of the materials recommended by major-generals for military students, one is not surprised that the Boer War began on experiences gained at Waterloo and in the Crimea; and the Great War on the experience gained in South Africa. Both books are marked by consistent adherence to standard orthodox military principles and theories, and by a lack of originality and imagination, but military training is not productive of either of these qualities. It is, perhaps, too much to expect, or even to hope, that professional soldiers would give much consideration to the defence of the Empire by the limitation of armaments and the development of international co-operation and organization; but, in view of the world-wide consequences of their ideas of defence during the years 1914-1918, it does seem that almost any other alternative—even that advocated by thoroughgoing pacifists—should be carefully canvassed by every thoughtful man and woman.

NORMAN MACKENZIE

*The Fuel Problem of Canada.* By MARTIN NORDEGG. The Macmillan Company of Canada. 1930. Pp. x, 155. (\$1.50.)

THIS work has been written with the object of stimulating public interest in Canada's fuel problem. It is divided into two parts, the first part being taken up with a discussion of the problem and the second with its solution. The book contains much information in readable form and Canadians will sympathize with any truly impartial effort to improve the fuel situation. It is unfortunate, however, that, in his zeal to make a case, the author creates by the first part of his text a certain prejudice in the mind of the reader and a feeling that his assumptions are not entirely unbiased. His denunciation of the efforts of so many persons who have earnestly tried to aid the coal industry makes the reader wonder whether Canadian industrialists are quite as lacking in foresight as they are painted. Mistakes may have been made and money wasted, but it should be borne in mind that the coal industry in Canada is subject to most of the ills that have baffled some of the best minds of Great Britain and the United States where the industry has suffered great depression since the war, but where it is not handicapped by tremendous transportation difficulties as it is in Canada.

When the author states that mining engineers are not qualified to manage coal mines, most persons familiar with the situation will take strong exception to his statement. In the chapter on "Labour conditions", the writer seems to have wandered somewhat afield to express his personal views on the relations between capital and labour. Further, in discussing the different kinds of coal, some misleading figures are quoted. For example, the statement appears that the average ash content of Nova Scotian bituminous coals is three per cent. One wonders where such a figure was obtained because one may search many a list of analyses of these coals and rarely find so low a figure.

Several suggestions are offered by the author for the solution of Canada's coal problem, most of which have been suggested at various times by other writers. Greatest stress seems to be laid on the amalgamation of the mines into "syndicates." These syndicates would be under the control of a government fuel commission with powers so extensive as to constitute almost a nationalization of the mines. The commission would have power to close unprofitable mines and prevent the opening of others where it was felt that they were not necessary. The syndicate would correspond to the "Cartel" in Germany which is said to have proved a boon to the coal industry, and concerning which Mr. Nordegg, who came to Canada as Martin Cohen, is in a position to speak with some authority since he represented German mining interests in Canada before the war. Wholesalers and retailers who, it is claimed by Mr.

Nordeg, now receive an excessively large share of the proceeds derived in handling coal, would be placed under the control of the syndicates and their business methods standardized and improved. Loans might be advanced to the syndicates by banks and government departments, and railroads might delay the collection of freight charges on stored coal so as to permit the mines to continue operations during slack seasons in the coal industry and to help to stabilize employment throughout the year.

Other ways of aiding the industry, discussed by Mr. Nordeg, are to be found in adopting low temperature carbonization and reasonable and uniform freight rates; in distributing purchases of fuel more uniformly throughout the year; in encouraging water transportation for coal and the substitution of coke and its by-products for anthracite which is spoken of as a luxury; in the abolition of government taxes on the output of coal mines, and in protecting the industry from "dumping" by foreign countries.

A brief bibliography is placed at the end of the text and a series of useful tables on production, exports, and imports of coal constitutes an appendix to the work.

E. S. MOORE

*The Caribou Eskimos: Material and Social Life and their Cultural Position.*

By KAJ BIRKET-SMITH. Volume I: *Descriptive Part* and volume II: *Analytical Part*. (Report of the Fifth Thule Expedition 1921-24, volume V.) Copenhagen: Gyldendalske Boghandel, Nordisk Forlag. 1929. Pp. 310, 116 illustrations, 1 map; 420, 5 illustrations.

ON the limitless tundra inland from the west side of Hudson Bay and north of the tree line, in an area about two-thirds the size of Italy, there live five hundred Eskimo, whose culture is the subject of these two volumes. In language and physical characteristics they closely resemble their fellows from Greenland to Bering Strait, but in mode of life they are widely divergent. Their mainstay is the caribou, not the seal; their settlements are situated where the herds cross the rivers, their clothing is made of caribou skin, caribou meat is the staple diet; in fact, without this animal their mode of life would be impossible. Fish are of secondary importance, and sea-food, obtained by trade, is regarded only as a luxury. In another respect these Caribou Eskimos are unique; lacking blubber lamps for cooking, their houses are unheated. These special characteristics suggest isolation, a conclusion amply supported by facts. Not only do the Caribou Eskimos avoid the forests, and the forest-dwelling Indians, but they have little contact with other Eskimo tribes.

The first volume gives an entirely satisfactory account of the life of the community; the methods of hunting and fishing, tools, clothing, houses, boats are all so carefully described and so fully illustrated that students will be able to visualize conditions in this area even after the onrush of civilization shall have swept away all traces of the old culture. Eskimo social organization, because of its lack of rigidity and definite mechanism, is difficult to describe, but of this, also, the author has succeeded in giving an adequate exposition. The religious beliefs of the people will be described later by Mr. Knud Rasmussen, another member of the expedition.

Not content with this purely descriptive account, the author follows it with a second volume consisting of a reconstruction of the history of the Eskimos as deduced from their modern practices. Historians, who naturally depend largely upon written sources, may be surprised by the far-reaching conclusions which can be obtained by studying the distribution of culture elements, as well as by an analysis of the technical processes involved. Mr. Birket-Smith first works out the distribution of one hundred and eleven elements of Caribou Eskimo culture among the other Eskimo tribes; his data, given in tabular form, show that eighty per cent. of the items are widely distributed, which indicates their great age. This thesis is supported by the archaism of many of the tools themselves and the methods of manufacture. Delving still further, he applies the same methods in tracing the relationship of Eskimo culture as a whole to that of the peoples of Eurasia and America with which it has more affinities than are generally recognized. This has entailed a study of the distribution of seventy-three elements. He concludes that Eskimo culture, not to be confused with race or language, originated in northern Canada and spread north, in most parts becoming adjusted to maritime life, and that the Caribou people represent the only survivors of this inland-hunting phase. To deduce a people's history by ethnological means is no easy task, and one wonders whether the author has not placed too great reliance upon the thesis that a discontinuous distribution of material objects with peripheral survivals is a proof of age. At least there must be reasonable assurance that the elements compared in this way are actually identical, a point not always faithfully observed. The author's views on Eskimo history will not gain universal credence, but he has so clearly divided the descriptive from the analytical that one can praise the former unreservedly while suspending judgment on the latter.

Canadians should bear in mind the scholarly effort that has been expended by a group of Danish scientists upon Canada's anthropological problems. These two volumes fully uphold the quality of earlier reports

of the Thule Expedition. Not only are they adequate in content and illustration, but the style warrants nothing but the highest praise for author and translator alike. The hardships entailed in collecting the data for the first volume, and the deep research of the second are worthily presented. Mr. Birket-Smith is clearly an omnivorous reader; the super-specialists might well observe that his knowledge is not restricted even to the widest range of Eskimo affiliations, as is shown by his opening with a quotation from Shakespeare and closing with one from Huxley.

T. F. McILWRAITH

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*A Canadian Geologist.* By W. J. LOUDON. Toronto: The Macmillan Company of Canada. 1930. Pp. vii, 257. (\$2.50.)

IN this book Professor Loudon gives a pleasant and chatty account of the life of his old friend, Joseph Burr Tyrrell, the well-known geologist and mining engineer of Toronto. Most of us know something of the picturesque careers of Sir John Franklin and the other heroes of the Arctic, but the really more important and scientific work done by such heroes of the Canadian Geological Survey as G. M. Dawson, A. P. Lowe, J. B. Tyrrell, and others, we often take for granted. The coming of the aeroplane has changed the character of western and northern exploration, and we would suggest to Professor Loudon that he try to give us a general history of Canadian exploration from Confederation to the Great War.

W. L. GRANT

*Brief History of Polar Exploration since the Introduction of Flying.* By W. L. G. JOERG. To accompany a physical map of the Arctic and a bathymetric map of the Antarctic. (American Geographical Society, special publication, no. 11.) New York: American Geographical Society. 1930. Pp. 50.

CANADIAN interest in this publication is limited to the map of the north polar region, which is physical only and on too large a scale to give much detailed information. In the accompanying text, a sketch map is included which shows the political sovereignty claimed or exercised. The claim of Canada is noted as resting on a declaration of the minister of the interior to the house of commons on June 10, 1925, but no treaty or convention has yet been signed in recognition by other countries. There is no mention in the text of this or any other question affecting Canadian territory, the purpose of the publication being to give the results of airplane exploration of hitherto uncharted areas.

H. H. L.

*Heroes of the Farthest North and Farthest South.* By J. KENNEDY MACLEAN and CHELSEA FRASER. New York: Thomas Y. Crowell Company. 1930. Pp. xiv, 472.

OUR particular concern is with that part of this book that tells the story of Arctic exploration. It may, however, be noted in passing that the Antarctic section, while it gives a fairly adequate account of the expeditions of Scott, Shackleton, and Byrd, omits altogether the very important explorations of Douglas Mawson in 1911-13. That the expedition of Sir Hubert Wilkins of 1929-30 is also omitted is less surprising, as the book may have been completed before an authoritative report was available, although a somewhat similar popular account of Antarctic exploration by Walter B. Hayward, published almost simultaneously, includes both Mawson and Wilkins.

The present book is really a new and enlarged edition of Mr. MacLean's account published in 1923, the later chapters of the story being contributed by Mr. Fraser. In the main they describe the—on the whole—remarkably successful attempts of Amundsen, MacMillan, Byrd, Nobile, and Wilkins to explore the Arctic by airplane and dirigible. Of particular interest at the present time is the record of Wilkins's flight in 1928 across the Arctic from Alaska to Spitzbergen. Out of the knowledge he gained at that time, and in the course of his earlier flights from Alaska over the Arctic sea, grew his present daring project of an Arctic expedition by submarine. What utter madness it would have seemed to the world of a quarter of a century ago, or even less, even to dream of exploring the Arctic by aircraft or submarine!

Mr. Fraser must also be credited with a series of graphic charts that add materially to the interest and understanding of this book.

L. J. BURPEE

*The Story of the Hudson's Bay Company, otherwise of the Company of Adventurers of England trading into Hudson's Bay.* By GEORGE P. SCRIVEN. Washington, D.C.: St. Anselm's Priory. 1929. Pp. 66.

THIS is not a volume that need detain the historical scholar for a moment. It is made up from a reading of the histories of the company by Sir William Schooling and Beckles Willson, and the annual report of the governor for 1927. But it will have its use. The large public who know nothing about the company are furnished with a gossipy account of its history and operations, the general fidelity of which is not greatly marred by its frequent inaccuracies.

WILLIAM SMITH

*The Kingdom of Saint James: A Narrative of the Mormons.* By MILO M. QUAIFE. New Haven: Yale University Press. 1930. Pp. 284. MR. QUAIFE is a scholar who has written much on western history, and always accurately and instructively as well as entertainingly. This volume contains the extraordinary story of Jesse James Strang, a member of the bar of Wisconsin and a convert to Mormonism. On the murder of Joseph Smith, Strang claimed that Smith had appointed him as his successor and that the angel of God accompanied by a numerous heavenly train had anointed him ruler of the saints on earth. He, too, found engraved plates, claimed the gift of tongues and the power of healing all diseases, but he had to witness a long series of schismatic revolts against his leadership. In 1849-50, he removed his followers to Big Beaver Island near the head of Lake Michigan, where the kingdom of God was set up and "James the Prophet was established King", being crowned in July, 1849. Among his followers he numbered some from Upper Canada. The sect soon suffered its final disruption due to Strang's adoption of polygamy. A plot was formed against him by malcontent Mormons and others, and he was murdered in cold blood in June, 1856. Had Mr. Quaife come from the shore of Lake Ontario, he would not have thought of correcting Strang's "crek" into "creek." The book makes interesting reading and is a credit to all concerned in its production.

WILLIAM RENWICK RIDDELL

*Episcopacy Ancient and Modern.* Edited by CLAUDE JENKINS and K. D. MACKENZIE. London: Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge; New York and Toronto: The Macmillan Company. [1930.] Pp. xxx, 412. (16/6.)

PRIMARILY this book, which was published in the year of the seventh Lambeth Conference, because the "South India Proposals" were there to come under discussion, is concerned with the question of the reunion of the Christian church. Of necessity the volume contains a great deal of history. To episcopacy in Canada, allusion is made by the Bishop of Grahamstown in his chapter on "The province of South Africa", and by a former bishop of Bunbury in that on Australia. The Canadian part of the book is ably handled by Bishop Roper of Ottawa, who, in the twenty-six pages allotted to him, gives a good idea of the present state of the Church of England in Canada as well as a clear history of the processes by which it evolved out of a state institution governed from London into a "free" church, if one may so speak, governing itself but cherishing the communion with the mother church. One fact stands out clearly—that events in Canadian history had their counterpart in the other self-governing dominions and in India. These all had to reckon

with the Colonial (or, in the case of India, with the India) Office in London. That was the real centre of ecclesiastical, as of political, authority, not Halifax or Quebec or Toronto or Calcutta or Melbourne or Wellington or Capetown. If that can be borne in mind henceforth by writers and by lecturers on Canadian history, it will enable them to be at once more just, more truthful, and more charitable than they have sometimes been.

A. H. YOUNG

*An Eskimo Village.* By SAMUEL KING HUTTON. Toronto: The Macmillan Company of Canada. N.d. Pp. 156. (75 cents.)

THIS is a simple but pleasing description of the tiny village of Okak, on the Labrador main, written by a medical missionary who worked among its Eskimo inhabitants for many years. The author admirably portrays the unfailing courage and cheerfulness of the Eskimo amid constant hardships and dangers, and his vivid character sketches will gain the sympathy of every reader.

D. JENNESS

*The Book of Canada.* Edited by CHESTER MARTIN, W. STEWART WALLACE, and T. C. ROUTLEY. (Published by the Canadian Medical Association on the occasion of the meeting of the British Medical Association in Winnipeg, August, 1930.) Toronto: Murray Printing Company. 1930. Pp. xi, 258.

THE *Book of Canada* is a collection of thirty-one short papers (including nine contributed by provincial prime ministers), each by a recognized authority. This notice can do little more than indicate the scope of the book. The papers cover a wide field, including history, geology, population, trade, education, and medicine. There are special chapters on wheat, pulp and paper, and the northland. There are none dealing directly with social conditions, labour, or industry generally, nor with art, culture, or religion. A conspicuous omission is the absence of any map of Canada. Nearly all the papers are good, and several are really excellent pieces of work. The Canadian Medical Association and the editors are to be congratulated on producing a book so interesting and informative and so finely printed, illustrated, and bound.

K. W. TAYLOR

*Modern Canada.* By HARPER CORY. London: Heinemann; Toronto: Doubleday, Doran and Gundy. 1930. Pp. xvi, 289; illustrations. THE aim of this book "is to offer an accurate and authentic account of Canada in her many aspects. It is an elementary account. . . .

[to enable]. . . .those who are domiciled outside of Canada to form a true picture of. . . .a nation glorying in its national consciousness and vast natural resources." The seventeen chapters consist very largely of official facts and figures loosely strung together and chosen with little discrimination. Agriculture is treated historically and statistically with practically no reference to mechanization. Industrial labour and employment are not mentioned anywhere. The description of banking organization is almost unintelligible. There is not a note of criticism in the whole book, and many descriptions are quite misleading—the condition of the agricultural labourer apparently leaves nothing to be desired, and hydro-electric power has brought to the isolated farmer's wife all the electrical conveniences of a well-to-do urban home. There is much accuracy of indiscriminate detail, but the whole picture is unreal and uninspiring.

K. W. TAYLOR

*Misadventures of a Working Hobo in Canada.* By G. H. WESTBURY. London: George Routledge and Sons. 1930. Pp. vii, 172; illustrations.

*Go West—Go Wise! A Canadian Revelation.* By MARJORIE HARRISON. Toronto: Longmans, Green and Co. 1930. Pp. xii, 308; illustrations.

THESE are the observations of two English travellers in Canada. Mr. Westbury, an Englishman of independent means, started for Canada with only £2 in his pocket, resolved to discover how an immigrant so circumstanced could get along. His discovery was that an able-bodied immigrant prepared for any kind of unskilled labour, however arduous and dirty, could readily make a living in the Dominion. His story is interesting, although, had he ventured forth in 1930 instead of 1928, he certainly could not have picked up so many jobs. While his book is one of human interest, it proves very little about conditions of employment in Canada. An individual's experience is an inadequate basis on which to make generalizations about the Canadian labour market. But it is, perhaps, a useful footnote to more scientific studies. Miss Harrison's book is a piece of vivacious journalism, written after the authoress had spent a few months in Canada, principally in the west. It reveals the usual ill-proportioned judgments of such impressionistic writing. Alarming pronouncements are made about the threatened dominance of Slav peasants and American finance, unsupported by any really authoritative evidence. It is true that the immigration and emigration figures are quoted, but these are for Miss Harrison, as for so many others who write about Canada, a deadly trap. Miss Harrison,

however, makes some shrewd remarks on farm-life in the west as she saw it. Her picture is somewhat unflattering, but there are many Canadians acquainted with the prairie country who would accept it.

A. BRADY

*The Canadian Annual Review of Public Affairs, 1929-30.* Founded by J. CASTELL HOPKINS. Toronto: The Canadian Review Company. [1930.] Pp. 811.

THE long row of crimson-coloured volumes on one's shelves, bearing the name of *The Canadian annual review*, gives one a comfortable feeling. These volumes guarantee that, so far as the history of Canada in the twentieth century is concerned, one is reasonably certain of finding in them almost any information of which one is in search. The volume under review, which is the twenty-ninth in the series, and (if one includes *Morang's annual review* for 1901) the thirtieth, is fully up to the standard of its predecessors, and is planned on the same lines. A special section is included dealing with "The wheat problem of 1929-30"; and the financial and industrial supplement contains the annual reports of the Canadian Pacific and Canadian National Railways, the leading Canadian banks, the Sun Life Assurance Company, the Canadian Manufacturers' Association, and such outstanding industrial enterprises as the Lake Superior Corporation and the International Nickel Company.

W. S. WALLACE

*The Story of Church Union in Canada.* By S. D. CHOWN. Toronto: The Ryerson Press. 1930. Pp. xv, 156.

THIS book furnishes a brief and lively account of the leading phases of the movement which resulted in the formation of the United Church of Canada. Most of the facts given have already been brought to light by other writers, but some chapters, such as those on "the building of the creed", "the opposition", and "misconceptions removed", add something to previously published versions of the story. The book is written in an elevated tone, and the attitude taken is more detached than might have been expected from one who was a distinguished participant in the movement. Once only does the author take the stand in his own defence—to expose the mis-statements of those who represented him as the advocate of a "religio-political machine." Many, one may be sure, would have welcomed an ampler book from Dr. Chown, showing clearly his own part in church union, and reflecting more fully his personal impressions of the co-operation or opposition of others.

JOHN T. MCNEILL

*An Economic History of Australia.* By EDWARD SHANN. Cambridge: The University Press. 1930. Pp. xiv, 456. (18s.)

*Australia.* By W. K. HANCOCK. London: Ernest Benn. 1930. Pp. 326. (15s.)

*New Zealand in the Making: A Survey of Economic and Social Development.* By J. B. CONDLIFFE. London: George Allen and Unwin. 1930. Pp. 524.

THESE excellent books on the Antipodes, which have no direct reference to Canada, are noted here in the belief that the contrasts and comparisons with Canadian experience will make them interesting and stimulating reading for Canadian economists and historians. Of particular interest is the Australian experience of high protective tariffs. Since the War the burden imposed on the export industries by the protection of local secondary industries has rapidly increased, largely owing to the attempts to raise wages by law. Meanwhile the fall in the world price of their exports has greatly reduced the capacity of the primary producers to bear the burden. Professor Shann concludes that "Australia has allowed her 'national policies' to eat up the easy gains of a period of unusual plenty." Professor Hancock interprets the movement for imperial preference as an attempt to shift the burden on to the British public. New Zealand has followed a more conservative policy both in labour legislation and fiscal protection. Professor Condliffe shows her extreme dependence on the general level of world prices, both as a primary producer and as a borrower. Falling prices make the terms of trade less favourable, since the prices of raw materials fall faster than the prices of manufactured goods, and at the same time the real burden of her debt increases. New Zealand does not escape all the troubles of Australia. It is not, however, mainly for their reference to contemporary problems that these books are recommended, but rather for comparative history. The Canadian historian of immigration and land settlement, for instance, will find much to interest him. The conflict of the agricultural and pastoral interests, of democratic legislation versus geographical conditions, has its parallel in southern Alberta.

V. W. BLADEN

*A Handbook of Canadian Literature.* By V. B. RHODENIZER. Ottawa: The Graphic Publishers Ltd. 1930. Pp. 295. (\$2.00.)

*Histoire de la Littérature canadienne.* By CAMILLE ROY. Québec: L'Action Sociale. 1930. Pp. 310.

*A handbook of Canadian literature* by Professor Rhodenizer of Acadia University is quite accurately described by its title. It is a handbook, in which the general reader in need of information about a Canadian

writer can consult the index, turn to the pages that deal with the writer in question, and find a brief but adequate sketch of his life and work, followed by a sensible appraisal of his position in Canadian literature. There are some omissions in the book, notably that of Morley Callaghan, but, on the whole, it is a reliable and well-written book of reference.

Mgr Camille Roy's *Histoire* is the fifth edition of this well-known work by the professor of Canadian literature in Laval University. It has long been the accepted history of French-Canadian literature and now that it has been revised and brought up to date it has no serious rival in its field. Indeed, its brief section of 30 pages on English-Canadian literature is entirely satisfying in its terse statement of facts and admirably phrased critical judgments.

J. F. MACDONALD

*Indian Nights.* By ISABEL ECCLESTONE MACKAY. Toronto: McClelland & Stewart. 1930. Pp. 199.

THIS is believed to be the last important work of the late Mrs. Mackay. It is a collection of Indian legends, most of which narrate incidents in the life of Raven, the wonder-hero of the Tsimshian. The stories strive to explain natural phenomena: for example, how sunlight came; why it rains; how fire was obtained; how the tides were made to ebb and flow; and similar matters, in which, of course, Raven is the agent. Numerous attempts have, in the past, been made to popularize these legends, which lie buried in the ponderous *tomes* of scientific societies, but usually with the loss of much of the Indian tone and atmosphere. Mrs. Mackay had the happy thought of making the Wise Woman relate them to the Chief's Son. The interruptions of the youthful listener and the sage, and oftentimes, humorous, replies of the aged story-teller give to the work a manner, as Professor Hill-Tout says in his foreword, "at once unique and delightful." This method, coupled with the short and repetitive sentences, fills the narration of these Indian legends with a real native flavour.

F. W. HOWAY

## RECENT PUBLICATIONS RELATING TO CANADA

(Notice in this section does not preclude a later and more extended review.)

### I. THE RELATIONS OF CANADA WITHIN THE EMPIRE

ALLEN, Sir JOHN SANDEMAN. *The Imperial Conference and the future* (United Empire, January, 1931, pp. 23-25).

An abridged report of a speech on the constitutional decisions and economic failure of the Conference.

AMERY, L. S. *The growth of the movement for Empire preference* (English review, October, 1930, pp. 443-456).

A discussion of the imperial economic situation.

— *Mr. Bennett's offer and after* (National review, November, 1930, pp. 897-906).

A discussion of Mr. Bennett's fiscal proposal.

BERTRAM, Sir ANTON. *The colonial service*. Cambridge: At the University Press, 1930. Pp. xii, 291. (10/6.)

To be reviewed later.

BLACKETT, Sir BASIL. *The Empire and world communications* (United Empire, December, 1930, pp. 658-661).

An address on international telegraphy and telephony and their application to the British Empire.

BROWN, ERNEST. *1926-1930-1931? The Imperial Conference* (Contemporary review, December, 1930, pp. 681-688).

A discussion of free-trade, imperial preferences, and the idea of a quota for wheat.

CLOUGH, OWEN. *The king in the overseas Empire* (Nineteenth century, January, 1931, pp. 14-26).

An outline of the status, functions, and responsibilities of the office of governor-general of a dominion, and the arguments for and against the present system of appointment.

COLEMAN, H. T. J. *Three strands in the Empire bond* (United Empire, November, 1930, pp. 610-613).

The three strands which the writer stresses are (1) personal memories of the motherland; (2) education and ideals; (3) literature.

CROFT, Sir HENRY PAGE. *Conservatives and Empire, a bridge* (National review, September, 1930, pp. 613-618).

A political discussion of Empire.

— *The Imperial Conference: Where does Britain stand?* (Empire review, October, 1930, pp. 262-265).

A statement of the economic problems before the Imperial Conference.

*The Crown and the dominions* (Round table, December, 1930, pp. 96-105).

A discussion of the position of the governors-general in the dominions.

GERARD, JAMES W. *The great Empire and Imperial free trade*. London: Empire Crusade. 1930. Pp. 16.

A booklet on free trade within the Empire.

*The Imperial Conference* (Round table, December, 1930, pp. 27-40).

An examination of Mr. Bennett's fiscal proposals.

*The Imperial Conference: Abstract of official summary* (Round table, December, 1930, pp. 229-238).

An abstract partly based on the abstract in *The Times* of November 15, 1930.  
 JOHNSTON, LUKIN. *The Imperial Conference* (Fortnightly review, December, 1930, pp. 721-734).

A clear and comprehensive view of both the political and economic achievements and failures of the Conference, together with an examination of the growth of the spirit of nationalism in the dominions.

LEMIEUX, RODOLPHE. *L'évolution du Canada* (Revue de l'Université d'Ottawa, janvier-mars, 1931, pp. 32-42).

A brief résumé of the history of Empire, and an attempt to define the status of Canada in the British Commonwealth.

LLOYD, Lord. *The decisive call: An Imperial Conference note* (United Empire, November, 1930, p. 583).

A commendation of Mr. Bennett's proposals at the Imperial Conference.

LYAUTEY, PIERRE. *Retour de la Conférence Impériale de Londres* (Revue vivants, novembre, 1930, pp. 546-558).

Discusses the evolution of British imperialism, the programme of the Conference, the proposals of the dominions, and the position of the Conservative party.  
 McA., D. *The Imperial Conference* (Queen's quarterly, autumn, 1930, pp. 780-784).

A clear and concise analysis of the Imperial Conference of 1930.

MALCOLMSON, V. A. *The Imperial Conference and the future of the Empire* (English review, October, 1930, pp. 457-465).

A discussion of the Conference and a forecast of the future.

MARRIOTT, Sir JOHN. *The crown and the Empire* (Fortnightly review, October, 1930, pp. 434-444).

A paper on the symbolism of the crown and its position in the British Commonwealth of Nations.

MORGAN, Sir BENJAMIN. *The crucial Conference* (English review, November, 1930, pp. 571-578).

A discussion of the 1930 Imperial Conference.

NEWSOME, HELEN. *La situation économique de l'Empire britannique* (Revue de Genève, octobre, 1930, pp. 495-505).

An article on the present economic situation.

RITCHIE, T. KERR. *England or Empire* (Dalhousie review, January, 1931, pp. 525-534).

A census of the present lack of imperial unity or policy, and a plan for the establishment of an imperial governance empowered with executive authority.

ROWELL, N. W. *Canada's position in the British Commonwealth of Nations* (Canadian bar review, October, 1930, pp. 570-586).

An address on the constitutional development of the British Commonwealth of Nations and Canada's part in this experiment in Empire.

RUST, WILLIAM. *The economic crisis of British imperialism* (Labour magazine, July, 1930, pp. 404-412).

A discussion of imperialism from the point of view of the economist.

SALMON, EDWARD. *The Imperial Conference* (United Empire, October, 1930, pp. 530-532).

An historical survey of colonial and Imperial Conferences, with a plea for economic unity and co-operation within the Empire.

SALT, Major A. E. W. *Imperial air routes*. With an introduction by Sir SEFTON BRANCKER. London: John Murray. 1930. Pp. 280. (6s.)

To be reviewed later.

SCOTT, F. R. *The Privy Council and minority rights* (Queen's quarterly, autumn, 1930, pp. 668-678).

The author considers and demolishes the argument that the privy council appeal is a safeguard for minority rights.

SCOTT, J. W. *An Empire currency, or a British?* (English review, November, 1930, pp. 592-604).

The idea of an Empire currency discussed.

SMITH, DOUGLAS H. *Economics of Empire trade*. London: George Routledge and Sons. 1930. Pp. viii, 160. (\$1.50.)

To be reviewed later.

SOMERVELL, D. C. *The British Empire*. London: Christophers. 1930. Pp. xv, 345. (12/6.)

To be reviewed later.

STEED, WICKHAM. *England at the crossways; Baldwin and Beaverbrook: The country and the Empire* (Review of reviews, November 15, 1930, pp. 863-870).

A discussion of British and imperial politics.

STOKES, ROBERT. *New imperial ideals*. With an introduction by the Right Hon. Lord LLOYD. London: John Murray. Pp. xviii, 314. (10/6.)

To be reviewed later.

TARLÉ, ANTOINE de. *L'Angleterre et ses dominions* (Revue des deux mondes, 1er décembre, 1930, pp. 663-671).

A synopsis of Britain's fiscal policy in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, and a discussion of the economic pros and cons of the Imperial Conference of 1930.

UNDERHAY, F. C. *Sir Robert Borden and imperial relations* (Dalhousie review, January, 1931, pp. 503-517).

An outline of the developments of inter-imperial relations since 1911, and an estimate of Sir Robert Borden's contribution to the constitutional theory and practice of the Empire.

WILSON, P. W. *Britain's imperial battle* (Review of reviews, New York, September, 1930, pp. 57-60).

A discussion of "imperial preference."

## II. HISTORY OF CANADA

### (1) General History

ANGUS, H. F. *Canadians of Oriental race* (Anvil, January, 1931, pp. 2-4).

A brief note on the problem of how to deal with racial minorities.

ARMSTRONG, WILLIAM EARL. *Canada and the League of Nations: The problem of peace*. Geneva: Imprimerie Jent. 1930. Pp. 222.

To be reviewed later.

BELZILE, THURIBE. *Les allocations familiales au Canada* (Revue trimestrielle canadienne, décembre, 1930, pp. 445-456).

The continuation and conclusion of an article on a system of family allowances in Canada.

BRANCH, E. DOUGLAS. *The hunting of the buffalo*. New York and London: D. Appleton and Company. 1929. Pp. vii, 240.

The story of the buffalo and the buffalo-hunters on the Mississippi delta, in the Pennsylvania mountains, the Red River valley, and on the upper shores of Great Slave Lake.

- CORBETT, P. E. *Anti-Americanism* (Dalhousie review, October, 1930, pp. 295-300). An analysis of the causes of the ingrained Canadian criticism of the United States of America.
- DAFOE, J. W. *Canada and the United States* (Journal of the Royal Institute of International Affairs, November, 1930, pp. 721-738). The major aspects of the relationships between Canada and the United States considered historically, socially, economically, and financially.
- Deux grandes manifestations Anglo-Françaises en Angleterre* (Nova Francia, mai-juin, 1930, pp. 129-141). Addresses by the Hon. Philippe Roy, the Marquis of Montcalm, and Sir Campbell Stuart, on the occasion of the unveiling of a statue of Wolfe at Greenwich.
- FINGER, CHARLES J. *Seven horizons*. Garden City, New York: Doubleday, Doran and Company. 1930. Pp. xx, 457. (\$5.00.) The writer touches Canada in the course of his extraordinary career.
- FREMANTEL, A. F. *England in the nineteenth century, 1801-1805*. London: George Allen and Unwin Ltd. 1929. Pp. 555. Contains a brief statement of political and social conditions in the Maritime Provinces and Upper and Lower Canada at the beginning of the nineteenth century.
- GRAY, EDWARD F. *Leif Eriksson, discoverer of America, A.D. 1003*. Oxford: At the University Press. 1930. Pp. xxxii, 188. (\$6.25.) To be reviewed later.
- GRENFELL, Sir WILFRED. *Labrador: An asset of Empire* (United Empire, January, 1931, pp. 10-15). An address on the potential value of Labrador to the Empire.
- HAMILTON, C. F. *The Canadian militia: The change in organization* (Canadian defence quarterly, October, 1930, pp. 94-97). A further instalment of a history of the Canadian militia.
- HOWAY, F. W. (ed.) *Zimmermann's Captain Cook: An account of the Third Voyage of Captain Cook Around the World, 1776-1780*, by HENRY ZIMMERMANN, of Wissloch, in the Palatine, and translated from the Mannheim edition of 1781 by ELSA MICHAELES and CECIL FRENCH. Toronto: Ryerson Press. 1930. Pp. xiv, 120. (\$5.00.) To be reviewed later.
- JANE, CECIL. *Select documents illustrating the four voyages of Columbus*. Vol. I. Hakluyt Society. 1930. Pp. 167. Reviewed on page 59.
- 
- (trans.). *A Spanish voyage to Vancouver and the north-west coast of America*. London: The Argonaut Press. 1930. Pp. xiv, 142. To be reviewed later.
- KRABBE, TH. N. *Greenland, its nature, inhabitants, and history*. Translated from the Danish by ANNIE I. FAUSBØLL. London: Oxford University Press. 1930. Pp. xvi, 129; 170 plates. (\$12.00.) A lavishly illustrated description of the geography and inhabitants of Greenland with a short historical account.
- LESLIE, SHANE. *Memoir of John Edward Courtenay Bodley*. London: Jonathan Cape. 1930. Pp. 436. (\$4.50.) To be reviewed later.
- LONGSTAFF, Major F. V. *On what dates and in what cities of the United States, have British Blue Jackets marched along the streets since 1814 fully armed?* Reprinted from the *Khaki Call*, summer, 1927. Pp. [4.]

Major Longstaff has used all the sources of information at his disposal and herein gives his findings.

MASSEY, VINCENT. *Good neighbourhood and other addresses in the United States*. Toronto: The Macmillan Company of Canada. 1930. Pp. xiii, 362. (\$2.50.)

To be reviewed later.

NICHOLLS, ALBERT G. *The British Medical Association at Winnipeg* (Queen's quarterly, autumn, 1930, pp. 770-777).

A report on the ninety-eighth annual meeting of the British Medical Association which took place in August, 1930.

O'FLAHERTY, LIAM. *Two years*. London: Jonathan Cape. 1930. Pp. 351. (7/6.)

Five chapters of Mr. Liam O'Flaherty's autobiography give an account of his wanderings as a hobo from Montreal to Toronto, to Northern Ontario where he worked in a lumber camp, and thence through Sudbury and Coppertown to Port Arthur. His extremely sordid impressions of Canada are too personal and too journalistic to be of any interest to the historian or the economist.

OMWAKE, JOHN (ed.). *The Conestoga six-horse bell teams of eastern Pennsylvania*. Cincinnati: The Ebbert and Richardson Co. 1930. Pp. 163.

Interesting notes on the mode of travel of the Pennsylvania Dutch, some of whom migrated to Canada at the end of the eighteenth century.

SHANN, EDWARD. *An economic history of Australia*. Cambridge: At the University Press. 1930. Pp. xiv, 456. (18s.)

Reviewed on page 99.

WATSON, ROBERT. *Canada's link with Hawaii* (Canadian geographical journal, November, 1930, pp. 605-618).

The writer touches on the voyages of Cook, Vancouver, and others to the Hawaiian Islands.

WILKINSON, H. L. *The world's population problems and a white Australia*. London: P. S. King & Son, Ltd. 1930. Pp. xvii, 339. (18s.)

Reviewed on page 55.

## (2) New France

ANTOINE, HENRI ET GEOFFROY DE BUADE (Bulletin des recherches historiques, décembre, 1930, pp. 741-744).

A genealogical study of the Buade family from which came the seigneurs of Cavaïrac, Palluau, and Frontenac.

BURON, EDMOND. *Le quatrième centenaire du Canada* (Canada français, novembre, 1930, pp. 164-173).

A request for a suitable celebration in 1934 of the four-hundredth anniversary of Jacques Cartier's discovery of Canada.

CALL, F. OLIVER. *Marguerite Bourgeoys*. (The Ryerson Canadian history readers edited by LORNE PIERCE.) Toronto: The Ryerson Press. 1930. Pp. 30. (10 cents.)

A brief life of the founder of the Congrégation de Notre Dame at Montreal, with a glimpse of the earliest days of Ville-Marie.

CATHELINEAU, EMMANUEL DE. *La minute notariée du contrat de mariage de Champlain* (Nova Francia, mai-juin, 1930, pp. 142-155).

An item of interest about the personal life of Champlain.

*Les commandants et les majors des troupes du détachement de la marine* (Bulletin des recherches historiques, décembre, 1930, pp. 705-708).

Notes on military history in New France.

*Un conseil de guerre tenu par M. de Longueuil en 1700* (Bulletin des recherches historiques, janvier, 1931, pp. 45-48).

A document, reprinted from the archives of the province of Quebec, with regard to a council held by the French commandant at Detroit on the subject of the declaration of war against the English.

DAVIES, BLODWEN. *Daniel du Lhut*. (The Ryerson Canadian history readers edited by LORNE PIERCE.) Toronto: The Ryerson Press. 1930. Pp. 28. (10 cents.)

A simple account of Daniel du Lhut as explorer, trader, and soldier of New France.

FITZPATRICK, BENEDICT. *Donjon of demons: A hero's tale from the Jesuit Relations*. New York: Henry Holt and Co. [1930.] Pp. viii, 306.

A narrative of the missionary work of Father Brebeuf, written for popular consumption rather than as a serious study.

*Généalogie de la famille Hertel telle qu'elle nous a été transmise par l'Hon. JEAN-BAPTISTE-MELCHIOR HERTEL de ROUVILLE* (Nova Francia, mai-juin, 1930, pp. 156-169).

A detailed genealogical study.

HALE, KATHERINE. *Pierre Esprit Radisson*. (The Ryerson Canadian history readers edited by LORNE PIERCE.) Toronto: The Ryerson Press. 1930. Pp. 28. (10 cents.)

A brief narrative of Radisson's career as an explorer and fur-trader.

HATTIE, W. H. *Canada's first apothecary* (Dalhousie review, October, 1930, pp. 376-381).

A discourse on apothecaries in the seventeenth century prompted by the erection of a tablet to the memory of Louis Hébert by the Nova Scotia Pharmaceutical Society.

HUBERT, MARGUERITE. *Structure et condition juridique des compagnies de navigation de l'ancien régime*. Paris: A. Rousseau. 1929. Pp. 266.

A study of the legal structure and status of the companies of the old régime, with an historical summary of each of these companies.

JOSEPH, domestique de Montcalm (Bulletin des recherches historiques, novembre, 1930, pp. 697-698).

A question concerning a servant of Montcalm.

LAUT, AGNES C. *Antoine de la Molle Cadillac*. (The Ryerson Canadian history readers edited by LORNE PIERCE.) Toronto: The Ryerson Press. 1930. Pp. 28. (10 cents.)

The story, dramatically recounted, of the father and founder of Detroit.

LAWRENCE, MARGARET ISABEL. *Sieur de la Salle*. (The Ryerson Canadian history readers edited by LORNE PIERCE.) Toronto: The Ryerson Press. 1930. Pp. 32. (10 cents.)

A short, dramatic sketch of the career of La Salle.

LEMIEUX, RODOLPHE. *Canada's quadcentenary, 1934* (Canadian geographical journal, November, 1930, pp. 557-573).

A brief narrative of Jacques Cartier's discovery of Canada in 1534, with interesting illustrations.

LOIZEAU, Contre-Amiral G. *François 1<sup>er</sup> fondateur du Canada et ses premiers lieutenants*. Paris: Jules Meynial. 1930. Pp. 37.

To be reviewed later.

LORIMIER, LOUIS-RAOUl de. *La haute aventure de Guillaume de Palmoye*. Montréal: Chez Granger Frères. (\$2.00.)

- The adventures of a fictitious character who is supposed to have served with Montcalm in New France between 1756 and 1763.
- MASSICOTTE, E.-Z. *Avant la capitulation de Montréal* (Bulletin des recherches historiques, janvier, 1931, pp. 43-44).  
M. Massicotte recounts the story of a Canadian spy in Montreal in 1760.  
*Comment on disposait des enfants du roi* (Bulletin des recherches historiques, janvier, 1931, pp. 49-54).
- An investigation into the methods of caring for illegitimate children during the French régime.  
*De l'observance du dimanche et des jours fériés* (Bulletin des recherches historiques, décembre, 1930, pp. 709-712).  
A note on the observance of the Sabbath in New France.  
*Notes historiques sur l'emplacement du nouveau palais de justice de Montréal* (Bulletin des recherches historiques, novembre, 1930, pp. 681-689).  
Items of interest about old Montreal.  
*Où et quand mourut M. de Clérin* (Bulletin des recherches historiques, décembre, 1930, pp. 729-730).  
An inquiry into the death of Gilles Denis d'Estienne du Gué de Clérin.  
*Une rencontre de bourgeois du nord-ouest* (Bulletin des recherches historiques, décembre, 1930, pp. 717-718).  
An anecdote of early Montreal.  
*Le sieur La Fresnaye de Brucy* (Bulletin des recherches historiques, novembre, 1930, pp. 644-667).  
An interesting inventory preserved in the archives of Montreal of the possessions of a gentleman, officer, and merchant of the seventeenth century.
- MAURAUT, OLIVIER. *Marges d'histoire, III: Saint-Sulpice*. Montréal: Librairie d'Action canadienne-française. 1930. Pp. 221.  
To be reviewed later.
- Nicolas Fayolle* (Bulletin des recherches historiques, novembre, 1930, pp. 641-643).  
Information about Nicolas Fayolle, clerk of the admiralty in Canada during the last years of the French régime.  
*Paroles des sauvages de la mission de Pentagouet, proche de Pemkuit, à M. de Frontenac (6 janvier 1691)* (Bulletin des recherches historiques, décembre, 1930, pp. 713-716).  
A speech of the Indians to Frontenac, and Frontenac's reply.  
*Quelques "Dossiers personnels"* (Nova Francia, mai-juin, 1930, pp. 170-186).  
Some personal papers of Aigremont, a sub-lieutenant of the intendant of New France; of Charles-Joseph d'Ailleboust; and of Charles-Philippe d'Ailleboust.
- Ratification du traité de paix du 13 décembre 1665 par trois ambassadeurs iroquois (12 juillet 1666)* (Bulletin des recherches historiques, novembre, 1930, pp. 678-680).  
A document printed from the archives of the province of Quebec.
- ROY, CAMILLE. *Nos martyrs canadiens: Leur sainteté* (Canada français, novembre, 1930, pp. 145-160).  
A sermon on the religious characters of the Jesuit missionaries to the Hurons.
- ROY, PIERRE-GEORGES. *La ville de Québec sous le régime français*. 2 volumes. Québec: Rédempti Paradis. 1930. Pp. 548; 519.  
To be reviewed later.
- SULTE, BENJAMIN. *Mélanges historiques, volume 17. Défense de nos origines*. Compilées, annotées et publiées par GERARD MALCHELOOSE. Préface de M. AEGIDIUS FAUTEUX. Montréal: Editions Edouard Garand. 1930. Pp. 131. (\$1.00.)  
To be reviewed later.

## (3) British North America before 1867

*An account of conferences held, and treaties made, between Major-general Sir William Johnson, Bart. and the chief sachems and warriors of the Indian nations in North America, with a letter from the Rev. Mr. Hawley to Sir William Johnson written at the desire of the Delaware Indians: And a preface.* London: Printed for A. Millar in the Strand. 1756. Pp. xii, 77. Reprinted at the Lancaster Press, Lancaster, Pa.

Reprinted from the original in the library of Thea Heye, New York City, in an edition of two hundred copies.

BENNETT, Sir COURTEMAY. *Wolfe, Saunders and Cook* (United Empire, December, 1930, pp. 656-657).

A recognition of the part of James Cook in the capture of Quebec.

*Diary of Frederick Mackenzie giving a daily narrative of his military services as an officer of the Regiment of Royal Welsh Fusiliers during the years 1775-1781 in Massachusetts, Rhode Island and New York.* Two volumes. Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press. 1930. Pp. vii, 737. (\$10.00.)

An historical document of distinct value. Of especial note are the descriptions of the Rhode Island campaign, the story of the capture of General Prescott in 1777, the account of the embarkation of the Concord expedition, and the narrative of Percy's march to and from Lexington.

GENDRON, JULES. *La légende des Chevaliers d'Oil.* Québec: Victor Lafrance Ltée. 1928. Pp. 350.

A dramatic poem which tells of a secret order which is supposed to have existed under the régime of Governor Haldimand. The aim of this order was to preserve and spread the religion, language, and customs of the French-Canadian people in North America.

HEADLAM, CECIL (ed.). *Calendar of state papers, America and West Indies, 1714-15 and 1716-17.* London: H.M. Stationery Office. 1928 and 1930. Pp. xlvi, 435; lxvi, 444. (£1 7s. 6d.; £1 10s.)

Imperial problems of the first few years of the Hanoverian age presented. Some of the questions discussed are manufactures in the colonies, the expansion of North American trade to the foreign West Indies, and the Newfoundland fishery.

HUME, BLANCHE. *Barbara Heck.* (The Ryerson Canadian history readers edited by LORNE PIERCE.) Toronto: The Ryerson Press. 1930. Pp. 30. (10 cents.)

The story vividly told of Barbara Heck (1734-1804) who has been called the mother of Methodism in the New World.

HUME, Major EDGAR ERSKINE. *Letters written during the War of 1812 by the British naval commander in American waters (Admiral Sir David Milne)* (William and Mary College quarterly, October, 1930, pp. 279-301).

Early nineteenth-century letters dealing with naval events in the War of 1812, with the rights of American fishermen in the waters of Newfoundland, and with the advisability of England withdrawing from Canada.

*Les Jésuites au Canada après la suppression de la Compagnie de Jésus* (Bulletin des recherches historiques, décembre, 1930, pp. 752-758).

A history of the Jesuits in Canada after 1773.

KEITH, A. BERRIEDALE. *Constitutional history of the first British Empire.* Oxford: At the Clarendon Press. 1930. Pp. xi, 443. (\$6.25.)

To be reviewed later.

LAPALICE, O. *Jacques Philippe Liénard de Beaujeu* (Bulletin des recherches historiques, janvier, 1931, pp. 41-42).

- The date and place of birth (1772) of Jacques Philippe Liénard de Beaujeu is given.
- Lettre de Antoine Panel à Pierre Guy* (Bulletin des recherches historiques, décembre, 1930, pp. 745-746).
- A letter dated November 29, 1787, which is in the Bibliothèque Saint-Sulpice at Montreal.
- LUCAS, Sir CHARLES. *Religion, colonising and trade: The driving forces of the old Empire*. London: Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge. 1930. Pp. 84. (3/6.) To be reviewed later.
- MARQUIS, T. G. *Joseph Brant*. (The Ryerson Canadian history readers edited by LORNE PIERCE.) Toronto: The Ryerson Press. 1930. Pp. 28. (10 cents.) The life and achievements of Thayendanegea, the most illustrious Indian of the eighteenth century.
- MULLETT, CHARLES F. *English imperial thinking, 1764-1783* (Political science quarterly, December, 1930, pp. 548-579). An examination of the various trends of English public opinion with regard to colonial rights, and of the development of imperial thought and theory in the eighteenth century.
- PENSON, LILLIAN M. *The colonial background of British foreign policy*. London: G. Bell and Sons, Ltd. 1930. Pp. 52. (60 cents.) A clear and informative little book which traces the rise and expansion of the British Empire, and estimates the varying influence of colonial affairs upon British foreign policy since the sixteenth century.
- PORTER, KENNETH W. *Joseph Ashton, Astorian sailor, 1812-15* (Oregon historical quarterly, December, 1930, pp. 343-350). Remarks on the identity of an individual whose name is frequently encountered in the journal of Alexander Henry.
- QUAIFE, M. M. (ed.). *A boy of old Detroit* (Burton historical collection leaflet, vol. IX, no. 2.) Detroit: The Detroit Public Library. Pp. 19-32. Sketches presenting a boy's recollections of Detroit of over a century ago.
- SAGE, WALTER N. *Simon Fraser, explorer and fur trader*. Reprinted from the proceedings of the Pacific Coast branch of the American Historical Association, 1929. Pp. 15. An interesting account of the life, explorations, and fur-trading expeditions of Simon Fraser, containing facts hitherto unrelated concerning his early years.
- SEYMOUR, FLORA WARREN. *Lords of the valley: Sir William Johnson and his Mohawk brothers*. New York: Longmans, Green and Company. 1930. Pp. 278. (\$3.00). A brief, popular, and romantic account of Johnson, with no citations to sources and no index.
- SHORTT, GEORGE E. *The house of Barings and Canada* (Queen's quarterly, autumn, 1930, pp. 732-743). An account of the Canadian activities of the great banking house of Baring Brothers of London, agents in British North America for the governments of Canada, Nova Scotia, and New Brunswick before Confederation.
- SIEBERT, WILBUR H. *Loyalist troops of New England* (New England quarterly, January, 1931, pp. 108-147). A detailed account of the organization and personnel of the Loyalist troops raised in the New England states in the 1770's and 1780's.
- TAYLOR, GEORGE ROGERS. *Prices in the Mississippi valley preceding the War of 1812* (Journal of economic and business history, November, 1930, pp. 148-163).

A careful study of the falling prices which confronted the western farmer in the years which preceded the War of 1812, with the suggestion that this might have had a bearing on the causes of the War.

YEIGH, FRANK. *Travelling with the Simcoes* (Queen's quarterly, autumn, 1930, pp. 698-710).

A fascinating picture of travelling conditions by land and water in Upper Canada in the 1790's.

#### (4) The Dominion of Canada

BURPEE, LAWRENCE J. *Sir Sandford Fleming*. (The Ryerson Canadian history readers edited by LORNE PIERCE.) Toronto: The Ryerson Press. 1930. Pp. 28. (10 cents.)

An excellent narrative of Sir Sandford Fleming and the birth of the Canadian Pacific Railway.

*Canada I. The general election* (Round table, December, 1930, pp. 164-172).

Factors and issues in the Canadian elections of 1930.

*Canada: An immigrant's impression* (Round table, December, 1930, pp. 106-124).

An impression of Canadian nationalism, with a note of advice to the immigrant.

*The Canadian annual review of public affairs, 1929-30*. Toronto: The Canadian Review Company. 1930. Pp. 811. (\$8.00.)

Reviewed on page 98.

DEXTER, GRANT. *The political situation in Canada* (Queen's quarterly, autumn, 1930, pp. 762-770).

A résumé of Mr. Bennett's political activities since the election of the Conservative government.

HAYDON, ANDREW. *Mackenzie King and the Liberal party*. Toronto: Thomas Allen. 1930. Pp. 54. (50 cents.)

Brief introductory sketches of Lord Durham, Sir J. A. Macdonald, Sir Wilfrid Laurier, and Sir Robert Borden, and a record of the Rt. Hon. W. L. Mackenzie King and the progress of the Liberal party under his direction.

HENDERSON, JOHN. *Howard Ferguson: The romance of a personality*. Toronto: The Macmillan Company of Canada. 1930. Pp. v, 145. (\$1.00.)

An appreciative biography giving the high lights of Mr. Ferguson's career.

INNIS, H. A. *The jubilee of the C.P.R.* (Dalhousie review, January, 1931, pp. 450-455).

The main stages in the history and development of the Canadian Pacific Railway since 1880.

LAVIGNE, WILFRID. *L'orientation des dépenses publiques depuis la Confédération* (Revue trimestrielle canadienne, décembre, 1930, pp. 396-424).

A careful analysis of the increase in public expenditures since Confederation. With charts and statistics.

LÉVESQUE, ALBERT. *Almanach de la langue française, 1931*. Montréal: Librairie d'action canadienne-française. 1930. Pp. 56. (25 cents.)

A useful French-Canadian almanac of religion, sociology, politics, economics, science, art, education, and literature.

MACDONALD, J. A. (ed.). *Gun-fire: An historical narrative of the 4th Bde. C.F.A. in the Great War (1914-18)*. Compiled by the 4th Brigade, C.F.A. Association. Toronto: The Greenway Press. 1929. Pp. 264.

Incidents in the training of the 4th Brigade, C.F.A., and a record of its achievements on the battle-front. *Gun-fire* is not a general history of the Great War.

NELSON, J. C. *The Canada of to-day and to-morrow* (English review, September, 1930, pp. 343-447).

An account of Canada's present and a forecast of her future.

O., R. *La "Trappe de Sainte-Anne"* (Bulletin des recherches historiques, janvier, 1931, pp. 55-58).

An episode in the politics of the 1870's.

*Organisation of immigration: New restrictions in Canada* (Industrial and labour information, Geneva, September 15, 1930).

Concerning further restrictions on immigration from Europe.

PEEL, Lord. *L'avenir du Canada* (Revue mondiale, 15 décembre, 1930, pp. 374-378).

An enthusiastic eulogy of Canada, her beauty, natural resources, potentialities, constitution, and national spirit.

POPE, Sir JOSEPH. *Memoirs of the Right Honourable Sir John Alexander Macdonald, G.C.B., first prime minister of the Dominion of Canada*. Revised edition. With a preface by A. G. DOUGHTY. Toronto: Oxford University Press. 1930. Pp. xxix, 816. (\$5.00.)

To be reviewed later.

SHANNON, S. LEONARD. *'Twas fifty years ago* (Dalhousie review, October, 1930, pp. 353-357; January, 1931, pp. 535-540).

Reminiscences of a retired Canadian civil servant.

SOMERVILLE, H. *The Canadian prime minister* (Fortnightly review, October, 1930, pp. 462-469).

A sketch of the career of Mr. Bennett and an account of his character, personality, and political principles.

SOWARD, FREDERIC H. *The Canadian elections of 1930* (American political science review, November, 1930, pp. 995-1000).

A summary of election issues.

STEEL, W. ARTHUR. *Wireless telegraphy in the Canadian corps in France* (Canadian defence quarterly, October, 1930, pp. 84-93).

A continuation of an article on a phase of military communication. With charts and illustrations.

SWARTZ, WILLIS G. *The proposed Canadian-American reciprocity agreement of 1911* (Journal of economic and business history, November, 1930, pp. 118-147).

A detailed review of the reciprocity proposal of 1911 and how it fared as a political and economic issue both in the United States and in Canada.

WILTON, J. W. *Power at any price*. Winnipeg: The Print Shop Ltd. 1930. Pp. 175.

A political satire of a somewhat controversial character outlining the principal political events in Canada from the accession to power of Sir Wilfrid Laurier in 1896, to the federal election of 1930.

WOODSWORTH, J. S. *Co-operative government in Canada* (Queen's quarterly, autumn, 1930, pp. 648-655).

A consideration of so-called democratic institutions and how the parliamentary machine actually operates. Mr. Woodsworth decries the present electoral system, the party system, and the stringency of party discipline which makes the members mere automatons and the prime minister a dictator.

### III. PROVINCIAL AND LOCAL HISTORY

#### (1) The Maritime Provinces

BELL, W. A. *Horton-Windsor district, Nova Scotia*. (Geological survey, Canada, memoir 155.) Ottawa: F. A. Acland. 1929. Pp. 268. (50 cents.)

A geological study.

- BIRD, WILL R. *Chignecto*. (The Ryerson Canadian history readers edited by LORNE PIERCE.) Toronto: The Ryerson Press. 1930. Pp. 30. (10 cents.)  
 A popular history of the Isthmus of Chignecto before the dispersion of the Acadians.
- BROWN, ROBERT R. *The Nova Scotia Railway 1854-1872* (Railway and Locomotive Historical Society, bulletin no. 23, pp. 33-36).  
 A memorandum on early Canadian trains.
- [CANADA: DEPARTMENT OF THE INTERIOR.] *The Maritime Provinces, Canada*. Ottawa: F. A. Acland. 1930. Pp. 79.  
 Being a short description of the developments in New Brunswick, Nova Scotia, and Prince Edward Island, with an historical introduction and a map.
- MACLEOD, ADA. *Some Loyalists of Prince Edward Island* (Dalhousie review, October, 1930, pp. 319-331).  
 Details about the lives and times of the Loyalists of Prince Edward Island.
- MACMECHAN, ARCHIBALD. *Nova Scotia privateers*. (The Ryerson Canadian history readers edited by LORNE PIERCE.) Toronto: The Ryerson Press. 1930. Pp. 30. (10 cents.)  
 A vivid recoultal of a fascinating chapter in maritime history when privateering was recognized and practised as a legitimate method of warfare.
- NELSON, E. M. *The Cohequid country* (Dalhousie review, January, 1931, pp. 456-462).  
 The history of the land around the head waters of the Bay of Fundy.
- OTTY, MARIANNE GREY. *The river of the Loyalists* (Canadian geographical journal, January, 1931, pp. 59-70).  
 A description of the country along the St. John River, New Brunswick.
- PATTERSON, Hon. Judge. *Joseph Howe and the Anti-Confederation League* (Dalhousie review, October, 1930, pp. 397-402).  
 Several letters from Joseph Howe selected from the papers of the treasurer of the Anti-Confederation League, later Sir Robert Boak.
- (2) **The Province of Quebec**
- Actes de sépulture des victimes de l'incendie du théâtre Saint-Louis, à Québec, le 12 juin 1846* (Bulletin des recherches historiques, novembre, 1930, pp. 668-677).  
 A list of burial deeds.
- Inventaire des registres de l'état civil du district judiciaire de Gaspé, division de Gaspé, conservés à Percé* (Bulletin des recherches historiques, janvier, 1931, pp. 63-64).  
 An inventory of the registers of Gaspé.
- Inventaire des registres de l'état civil du district judiciaire de Joliette* (Bulletin des recherches historiques, décembre, 1930, pp. 732-735).  
 An inventory of the registers of the judicial district of Joliette.
- Inventaire des registres de l'état civil du district judiciaire de Terrebonne* (Bulletin des recherches historiques, novembre, 1930, pp. 690-696).  
 An inventory of registers of the district of Terrebonne.
- ROY, PIERRE-GEORGES. *Les rues de la cité de Lévis* (Bulletin des recherches historiques, janvier, 1931, pp. 35).  
 Brief and interesting historical notes on the street-names of Lévis.
- SURVEYER, EDOUARD FABRE and HENEKER, DOROTHY A. *The bench and bar of Quebec*. Reprinted from *The storied province of Quebec*. Dominion Publishing Company, Limited. 1931. Pp. 32.  
 An historical survey of the administration of justice in Quebec since the beginning of the French régime.

## (3) The Province of Ontario

KNISTER, RAYMOND. *Long Point, Lake Erie* (Canadian geographical journal, January, 1931, pp. 73-82).

Episodes in the history of a dangerous point.

LANDON, FRED. *Colonel Thomas Talbot*. (The Ryerson Canadian history readers edited by LORNE PIERCE.) Toronto: The Ryerson Press. 1930. Pp. 30. (10 cents.)

A biography of Colonel Talbot who spent half a century in opening up for settlement more than half a million acres of forest country in south-western Ontario, together with details of pioneer life in the early nineteenth century.

ROBERTSON, J. K. *Tayville: Sketches of an Ontario town in the 'nineties* (Queen's quarterly, autumn, 1930, pp. 711-723).

A picture of a bygone day in Ontario.

VEIGH, FRANK. *Kingston—past and present* (Canadian geographical journal, November, 1930, pp. 576-586).

Episodes in the history of Kingston.

## (4) The Western Provinces

FAIRBANKS, E. B. *In the Peace River district* (Dalhousie review, January, 1931, pp. 495-502).

A narrative of homesteading in the Peace River district.

FORBIN, VICTOR. *La gendarmerie du pôle nord* (Revue des deux mondes, 15 septembre, 1930, pp. 402-430).

A survey of the work of the Royal Canadian Mounted Police.

*Geographical gazetteer of British Columbia*. Victoria: Charles F. Banfield. 1930. Pp. xx, 291.

A publication of the department of lands of British Columbia.

HAMILTON, C. F. *Royal Canadian Mounted Police*. (The Ryerson Canadian history readers edited by LORNE PIERCE.) Toronto: The Ryerson Press. 1930. Pp. 28. (10 cents.)

A sketch of the history and the work of the Royal Canadian Mounted Police.

JENNESS, DIAMOND. *The Yukon telegraph line* (Canadian geographical journal, December, 1930, pp. 695-705).

A description of the famous telegraph line which connects British Columbia with the Yukon.

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